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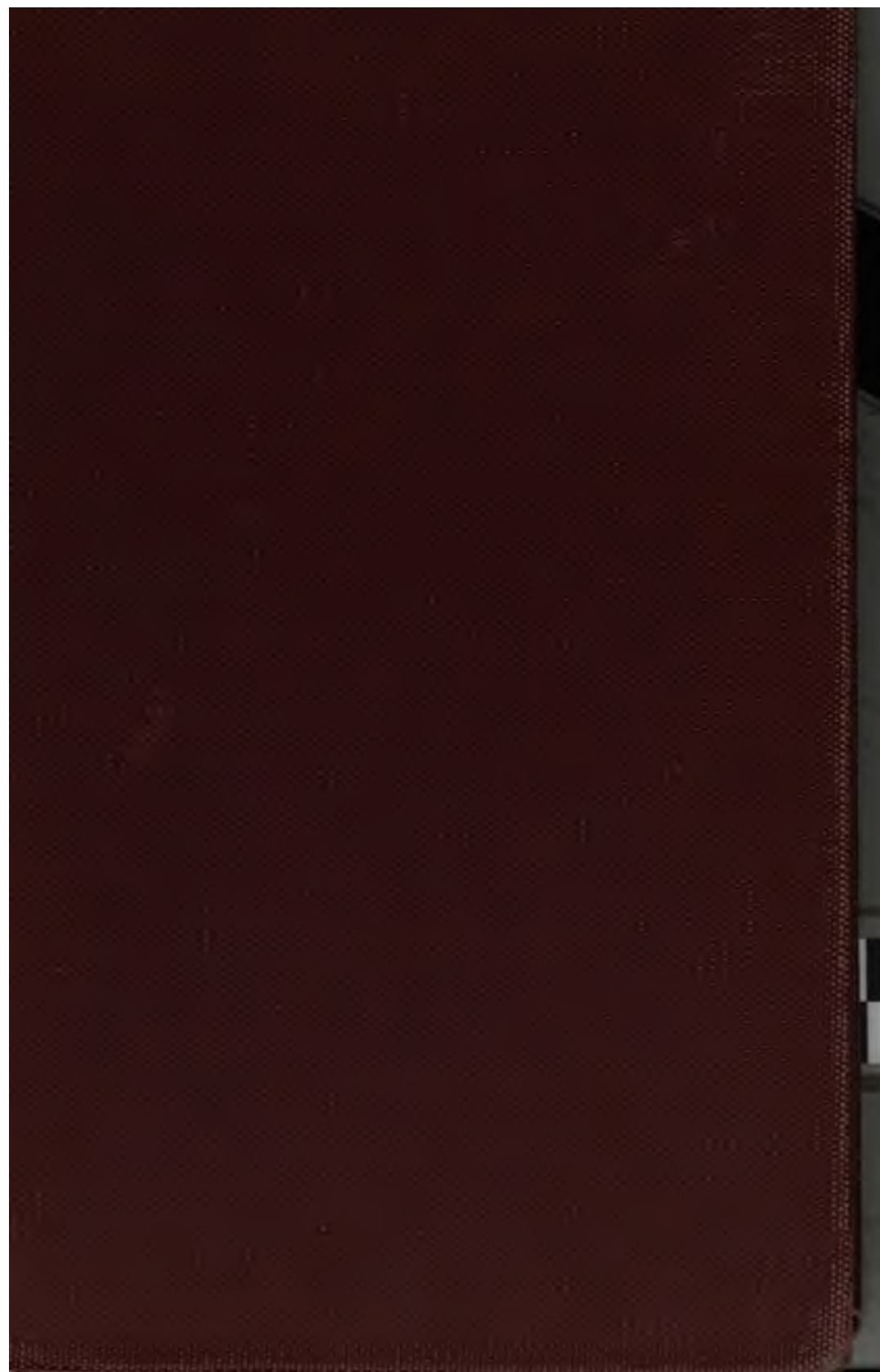
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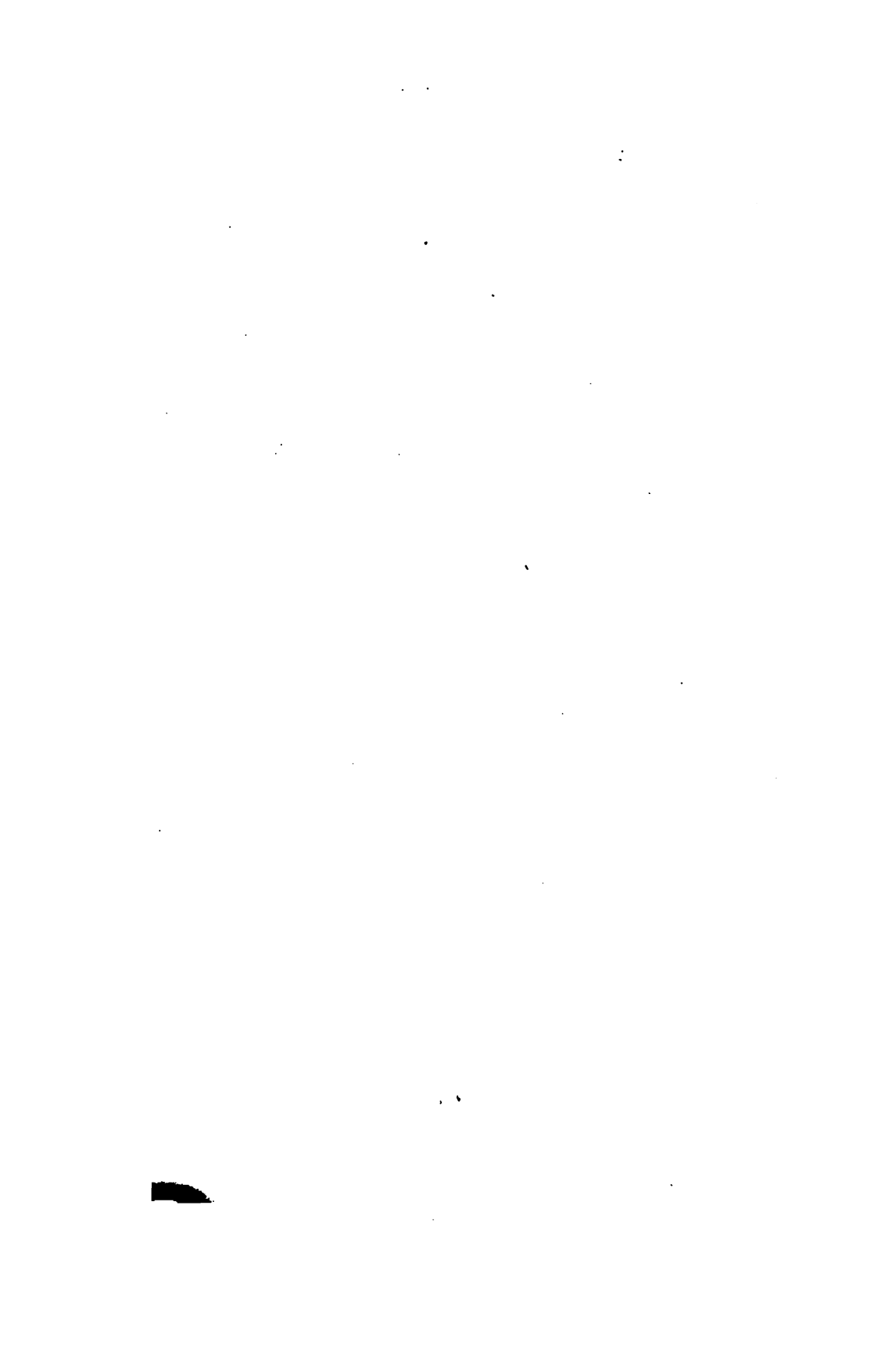
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FROM THE FUND OF
HARRIET J. G. DENNY
OF BOSTON







POLITICAL
— AND —
ECONOMIC
HANDBOOK

BY
THOS. E. WATSON

FIFTH EDITION

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PREFACE

In order that Editors, Speakers, Lecturers and Voters might have in the convenient storehouse of one volume all the scattered information now contained in many; and in order that they might have a brief statement of the line of argument which we adopt upon all essential issues, I have written this book. I have endeavored to fill it to the brim with facts—important facts, undisputed facts. I have tried to make it an armory from which reformers can draw every weapon of offence and defence.

THOS. E. WATSON.

Thomson, Ga., Nov. 1, 1916.

||
Still
consider
himself
reformer

1

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THOS. E. WATSON
(From His Latest Photograph)

WATSON'S HANDBOOK

Historical, Political, Economic and Statistical

CHAPTER I.

PART 1.

CONTENTS: Theocracies Failed. Democracy Planted in Virginia. Slavery. Religious Persecution. Baptists. Lord Baltimore. Maryland. Protestants Vote Religious Freedom. Early Confederacies. Colonies and States Preceded Union. Declaration of Independence. General Review Revolutionary War. Virginia Bill of Rights. First and Second Federal Unions. Third and Last. Debates in Constitutional Convention of 1787. The Three Great Compromises. Origin of Fugitive Slave Law.

On the extreme South and North of the Atlantic Seaboard, two religions planted colonies, and strove to establish ecclesiastical government. In Florida and in Massachusetts, the church sought dominion. The Roman Catholics, at the Southern end of the coast, massacred Protestants who had come over from France; and the Puritans, at the Eastern end, made it a capital crime for a papist to settle in their midst. Strange to say, slavery entered the Atlantic colonies by way of these two intolerant theocracies. The Spanish Catholics, in Florida, bought negroes and enslaved Indians: the English Puritans, in Massachusetts, enslaved the Indians, and imported the indentured serf from the Mother Country.

Church government failed dismally, both in Florida and in New England. Popery paralyzed the progress of the Southern colony, and New England expanded by bursting through the grave-clothes of theocratic domination.

It was in Virginia, that Americanism was really planted; and it was from Virginia that it went forth to conquer. At Jamestown, was held (1619) the first representative assembly of white men that ever met on this Continent. In that assembly, were illustrated and proclaimed the fundamental principles of democratic government. Laws to be made by delegates chosen by the people; taxes to be laid by these delegates; trial by jury; a vote for each adult male citizen—these were the cardinal tenets of the Jamestown settlement. Even when Cromwell's ships came to the Old Dominion, to impose his authority upon the colonists, they stoutly and successfully asserted their right to Home Rule.

(See Cooke's "Virginia" Commonwealth Series.)

In 1619, a Dutch vessel landed a few negroes at Jamestown, and thus slavery entered Virginia, many years after the Roman Catholics had introduced it into Florida and the West Indies.

It seems incredible now, in this country, that, the Puritan used the gibbet and the stake; while the Papist used the torture-chamber, the rope, and slow murder by starvation, but it is even so. Readers of history have often enough been reminded of the Salem witches who were hanged, on the absurdest evidence, amid the insanest hysteria; but it is not so generally known that arson of a dwelling, and murder by poison, were punished *by burning the criminal to death*. Two cases in which this terrible sentence was imposed and carried out, were those of the negro women (slaves) Maria (at Roxbury, Mass. 1681) and Phillis, at Charlestown, Mass., in 1755.

(Record compiled and published by A. C. Goodell, Jr., in 1883, the Publishers being J. Wilson and Son, Cambridge, University Press.)

Near St. Augustine, the Roman Catholics butchered unarmed Huguenots, hanged scores to the limbs of trees, and did others to death in the torture-room.

By contrast, the Episcopalians in Virginia avoided extreme measures; and the boldest Protestants suffered nothing worse than a brief imprisonment. Those who had this to endure were generally Baptists, who themselves had set the glorious example of Freedom of Worship in Rhode Island, when Roger Williams took refuge among savages to enjoy that which the Puritans denied him.

When Oliver Cromwell died, and the Catholic reaction restored the Stuarts to the English throne, King Charles II. was represented in Virginia by Sir William Berkeley, a thorough-going royalist and churchman.

In making a report on the colony to his Catholic master, Sir William indulged himself in the following characteristic popish sentiment:

"I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall have none these hundred years: for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best governments."

(Cooke's Virginia, p. 226.)

Up to that time, the best governments of continental Europe—excepting Holland, where the illustrious William the Silent had long ago established religious liberty—allowed no freedom of conscience, no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech, no freedom of worship, no trial by jury, and no representation of the people.

As to free and common schools, there never were any, ex-

cept for youths intended for the priesthood, until they were originated by John Calvin. In the "Literary and Historical Miscellanies" of George Bancroft, the historian, we read:

"Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools." (Page 406.)

Calvin died in 1564: Berkeley's report to Charles II. was made in 1670: a hundred years had passed since the Reformation established free schools, as the nurseries of intelligent patriotism; but no Roman Catholic country had yet tolerated popular education. There were teachers for young men who were set apart for the clerical life; and there was convent education for the daughters of the great; but the children of the common people had nowhere to learn; and even the son of the rich layman was under the necessity of attending some distant college, a very few being scattered over Europe.

As soon as Holland, after 80 years of war with Spain, had won her independence, she founded the Universities of Leyden, Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht, and Hardenyck.

A complete system of common schools was thrown open to the young. Free printing could be done in Holland, when it could not be done anywhere else. The Bible was translated into the Dutch language, so that the Dutch could read it, as early as 1477, before the Tyndale translation appeared in England.

(Tyndale's was the first *printed* Bible: Wycliffe's was in manuscript, accessible to few.)

At the time Sir William Berkeley thanked God for the absence of printing and free schools, it is certain that no Bible in English could have been found south of Jamestown, and it is not probable that the Book was common, anywhere in the New World.

Some say that the Baptists preached and practised liberty of worship so early as 1606: others place the date at 1639. At this time, the anti-papal feeling of the colonists was very bitter. They remembered how they had been persecuted in the old country. For 80 years, the Pope and the king of Spain had waged ruthless war upon the Reformers in the Netherlands: the Thirty Years' War had not been forgotten; the atrocities of Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Bloody Queen Mary were fresh in men's minds. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was recent; the butcheries of the Waldenses were still in progress: fugitives from the Netherlands, from Germany, and from France had horrible tales to tell of the barbarous mistreatment of Protestants—men, women, and little children.

The Pope and the Jesuits had so recently caused the murder of William the Silent, and Henry IV., that no good Catholic could easily forswear himself on that pretty point of faith.

Not only did Lord Baltimore fail to take the oath of allegiance to the English King, himself, but he tried to slip his cargo of Catholics out of England, unsworn. Lord Coke, the Secretary of State, got word in time to order Baltimore's ships overhauled and brought back to harbor. The Jesuits and other Catholics fled to the Isle of Wight, to escape the oath, which was taken by the 128 emigrants who were Protestants. When Baltimore's ships were allowed to proceed, they covertly went by the Isle of Wight, picked up the non-sworn Catholics, and sailed for the New World. (1633.)

The refusal of Baltimore and his Catholic colonists to forswear the Pope's asserted authority to dispose of crowns, kill kings and other rulers, and to change civil governments, throws a vivid light upon the hypocrisy of American priests of today, who are gulling and lulling the people by saying that Popes have *never* claimed such rights.

The truth is, that Pope Pius IX. reasserted that right in the syllabus of 1864, and it is *the law* of the Roman church, as it has been since the Dark Ages.

Lord Baltimore wanted to leave England, and take away as many Catholics as possible, for this reason: the country was getting too hot to hold them.

Puritanism had grown so strong, and resentment against recent Catholic atrocities was so intense, that no Romanist was safe, *unless he swore allegiance to the crown*.

This oath made him say that the Pope had no temporal power over the King, and none over the realm. Catholics were not willing to swear that: they believed then—as they believe now—that the Italian Pope is supreme ruler of earth, temporal and spiritual. No matter how many lies the priests now tell and publish, *that* is the orthodox Roman Catholic belief.

Baltimore's charter provided for religious freedom? Oh, yes: *the Catholics needed it*. They were settling among heretical hornets, and they didn't want to get stung. Within a few decades after these Catholics who, needing toleration, *tolerated*, their brethren in Ireland, not needing toleration, planned a general massacre of all Protestants, slaughtered thousands, and came near to success in their hellish design to extirpate heresy—as per the oath of every cardinal, every bishop, and every priest.

When religious freedom was established in Maryland, by American law, *the Protestants did it*; and, at that time, the Catholics were only one-fourth of the population.

There was a brief period when William Clayborne outlawed the Jesuits, banished them, and made it hot for Catholics, generally; but he had been the victim of persecution, his property at Kent Island had been confiscated, and Lord

Baltimore had waged war upon him. Clayborne's measures against the Catholics were *retaliatory*; he did not even massacre the Jesuits who had stirred up the strife.

(A full and fair account of all this appears in Sydney George Fisher's classic work "Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times." Lippincott & Co. Pub.)

The historian says:

"Calvert dared not act otherwise than very liberally toward Protestants. The slightest attempt to make Catholicism exclusive, or the slightest infringement of Protestant privileges, *would have lost him his province*. He could build up his province *only* by avoiding all offence to Protestants both in England and in his Colony. The stock-story of the punishment of a Catholic for offensive speech to a Protestant, shows the constant danger he was in; for the Protestants in that instance *threatened at once to appeal to Virginia*, and nothing would have pleased the Virginians more, than to have received such an appeal, which they could have made use of with much effect."

(See Fisher: Vol. II. page 166.)

During the era in which the Catholics were tolerant in Maryland, they were not only murderously intolerant in Florida, Mexico, Cuba, Central America, and South America, but in Germany the religious strife started by the Jesuits was raging; the frightful massacre of Protestants at Madgeburg had given its diabolical tone to the Thirty Years' War; Cardinal Richelieu was bloodily repressing the Huguenots, and thousands were flying for their lives from France; the next reign was to see the Jesuits instigate, through King Louis' bigoted mistress, (or wife) the forcible conversion of the remaining Protestants by military brutalities; and at the time when our forefathers were going into the Revolutionary War, the galleys of Catholic France were manned by Protestant slaves, whose sufferings on those floating hells make the blood run cold, as you read of it.

Any word of Papal protest against all this? Quite the contrary. The Popes frantically urged it on, gloated over it, exulted in it, praised it, rewarded it. In the Popes' own dungeons, at Rome, hideous crimes were being committed by Papal instruments—crimes which left their horrible evidences in those underground infernos where so many Masons, Jews, and heretics were done to death.

Whether our forefathers did not make a fatal mistake in ever allowing the Papal Monarchy to gain a foothold in the colonies, is a question which grows upon us, as we realize the "irrepressible conflict" impending between Romanism and Americanism.

The Baptists had been hounded like wolves, and put to death with every possible torture. One example will illustrate all the others: a beautiful girl, 16 years old, was seized by the priests, at Saltzburg; and, when she stood firm for her faith, they condemned her to be burnt. One of the executioners took pity on her, and this soft-hearted Catholic showed mercy—*how?* By dragging her to the horse-trough, and holding her head under the water, until she was dead!

(See Cook's "Story of the Baptists." Page 61.)

Is it strange that our forefathers hated the very name of "Jesuit?" Is it to be wondered at, that they had no love for priests, and dreaded the coming of the blood-thirsty Church of Rome?

So late as 1730, no Jesuit dared to openly profess himself to be one; and priests were afraid to wear their detested garb on the streets. In private, they went through their paganistic ceremonial, but street parades and "Field Mass" would have provoked instant riots.

(Fisher's Colonial Times. Vol. II. p. 221.)

So much has been said about Maryland's charter, and the religious liberty established in the province by the Catholics, that a brief outline of the facts is warranted.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore was a Catholic, who, by keeping his religion a secret, not only escaped trouble during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but rose to high office in her administration. In 1614, he received a royal grant to a large province in Newfoundland and, not long afterwards, announced that he had become a Romanist. Before Parliament could oust him under new and more stringent laws against religionists *whose faith required their first allegiance to a foreign potentate*, he sold his office for £6,000, equivalent then to about \$30,000.

The Pope had "deposed" Elizabeth, (on paper) had attempted to have her assassinated, (by an English Catholic) had released her subjects from their allegiance, and some of these released Catholics attempted later to blow up the house of Parliament. Therefore sterner measures were adopted for the security of the realm. One of these required that all Catholics must take an oath of allegiance to the English monarch, *disclaiming the Pope's pretended authority to depose Kings, release subjects, and to license them to rebel against or to assassinate a Protestant ruler.*

Lord Baltimore did not want to take this oath and, in fact, *never did take it.* To his dying day, therefore, he was unwilling to deny the power of the Pope to pull down and set up governments, instigate rebellions against Protestant monarchs, and to compass their death by assassination.

PART II.

EARLY CONFEDERACIES: THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE;
THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

In 1643 the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed a confederacy, under the name of "The United Colonies of New England." Each colony acted as the equal of every other, and each acted independently of Great Britain in creating this League. The purpose of the union was, self-protection from the Dutch of New York.

In time of war, there was to be a Congress composed of two representatives from each colony. A majority of three-fourths in this Congress was authorized to bind the Confederacy, in all matters of peace and war, and all matters of common concern. This League lasted until 1686, when the bigoted Roman Catholic, James II. vacated the charters of the New England colonies.

In 1754, a general convention was held at Albany, consisting of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. This assemblage proposed a Union of all the American colonies, for the purpose of security in peace and war. A plan of federal government was outlined, in which there was to be a Congress and a President.

The colonists were not ready for this advanced step, and the plan was rejected. Doctor Franklin declared, in 1760, that "a union of the colonies against the mother country was absolutely impossible."

(Kent's Commentaries, Vol. I. par. 205.)

Five years later, (1765) nine of the colonies were represented in the Congress which met in New York. A bill of rights was adopted, and a declaration made that the colonial assemblies, alone, had the power to tax the colonies.

In 1774 another association was formed, and this laid the foundations for a federal government. By this time, the rising tide of feeling against the mother country had become irresistible.

In 1775, the original Thirteen Colonies united, to obtain redress of American grievances, and a system of independent government was established.

On July 4, 1776, the Congress at Philadelphia voted to declare the colonies *separate, sovereign States*; and when the Revolutionary War ended, Great Britain named those thirteen colonies, *separately*, as independent, sovereign states.

In the famous Webster-Hayne debate, Mr. Webster based his argument, against State sovereignty, upon the words, "We the people," as they appear in the preamble to the Constitution of 1787.

This shows how a trivial detail may affect the course of history. Mr. Webster could not then be aware of the fact that the original wording had been, "We the people of the States of Massachusetts, Virginia, Georgia, etc.

It was suggested that the Convention could not *anticipate* which of the States would ratify the new Constitution; and, therefore, the Committee on Text omitted the enumeration of the States.

The literal truth is, that the Constitution was never even voted on by "the people of the United States." It was voted on by each State, acting separately, in conventions and legislatures.

In Professor Albert Bushnell Hart's "Formation of the Union," he quotes and sanctions the following sentences from President Lincoln's message of July 4, 1861:

"The Union gave each of them (the States) whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact, it created them as States."

Mr. Lincoln was a lawyer, and he was gifted with a pretty talent for making statements that were merely plausible; and Professor Hart has a national reputation for seeing things as he would like for them to be. A moment's examination of Mr. Lincoln's statement will detect its fallacy. To a *Union*, of either Colonies or States, a separate previous existence of either Colonies or States was necessary. There could not be a Union, without constituent parts. The parts had to exist, *before* they could unite and form the Union.

To say that the Union created the States, is equivalent to saying that a group of children created their parents.

I have already quoted Chancellor Kent, who defined the nature of the first union of independent New England Colonies. Did that League create the colonies which formed it?

The second, and the third Confederation has been described: did those combinations create the colonies which entered into the combine?

The third league won Independence for the colonies which formed it, *after* a Congress of these members of the confederation had declared that each member of it was, and should be, a separate, independent State.

Where, then, did any league, combination, federation, or Union of colonies, or States, create States?

No such thing happened. The people formed Colonies and States; and the Colonies formed Leagues and Unions.

Previous to the action of Congress at Philadelphia, the citizens of Mecklenburgh, North Carolina, had proclaimed their famous Declaration, (May 20, 1775) and in 1771, the Battle of Alamance had given the Old North State a pioneer place in the fighting.

The battle with Dunmore's Indians in Virginia, did not take place until 1774; and the fusilade at Lexington, not until April 19, 1775.

If the Elector Frederick of Saxony had yielded to the Pope's demand, that Luther be sent to Rome for trial, there would not have been, at that time, a Reformation. The Elector refused to allow the intrepid monk tried anywhere, save in his own jurisdiction. On this issue, Church and State came to a dead-lock; and out of that clash, came the glorious Revolution to which the world owes Popular Education, Popular Sovereignty, Civil and Religious liberty; and the right to every person to think, speak, write, and vote as he sees fit, so long as the equal rights of no other citizen are infringed.

The taking of Americans to England, for criminal trial, was one of the insufferable abuses which caused the Revolutionary War.

The following brief summary, and statistics, are presented as useful to the student:

FORMATION OF THE ORIGINAL UNION.

On Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, there were assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, a number of men who had been chosen and appointed by the several colonies in North America to hold a Congress for the purpose of discussing certain grievances imputed against the mother country. This Congress resolved, on the next day, that each colony should have one vote only. On Tuesday, the 2d July, 1776, the Congress resolved, "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States," etc., etc.; and on Thursday, the 4th July, the whole Declaration of Independence having been agreed upon, it was publicly read to the people. Shortly after, on the 9th September, it was resolved that the words "United States" should be no longer used, and that the "United States of America" should thenceforward be the style and title of the Union. On Saturday, the 15th November, 1777, "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America" were agreed to by the State delegates, subject to the ratification of the State legislatures severally. Eight of the States ratified these articles on the 9th July, 1778; one on the 21st July; one on the 24th July;

one on the 26th November of the same year; one on the 22d February, 1779; and the last one on the 1st March, 1781. Here was a bond of union between thirteen independent States, whose delegates in Congress legislated for the general welfare, and executed certain powers so far as they were permitted by the articles aforesaid. The following are the names of the Presidents of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1788:

Peyton Randolph, Virginia.....	5th Sept., 1774
Henry Middleton, South Carolina.....	22d Oct., 1774
Peyton Randolph, Virginia.....	10th May, 1775
John Hancock, Massachusetts.....	24th May, 1776
Henry Laurens, South Carolina.....	1st Nov., 1777
John Jay, New York.....	10th Dec., 1778
Samuel Huntington, Connecticut.....	28th Sept., 1779
Thomas McKean, Delaware.....	10th July, 1781
John Hanson, Maryland.....	5th Nov., 1781
Elias Boudinot, New Jersey.....	4th Nov., 1782
Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania.....	3d Nov. 1783
Richard Henry Lee, Virginia.....	30th Nov., 1784
Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts.....	6th Jan., 1786
Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania.....	2d Feb., 1787
Cyrus Griffin, Virginia.....	22d Jan., 1788

The seat of government was established as follows: At Philadelphia, Pa., commencing September 5, 1774, and May 10, 1775; at Baltimore, Md., December 20, 1776; at Philadelphia, Pa., March 4, 1777; at Lancaster, Pa., September 27, 1777; at York, Pa., September 30, 1777; at Philadelphia, Pa., July 2, 1778; at Princeton, N. J., June 30, 1783; at Annapolis, Md., November 26, 1783; at Trenton, N. J., November 1, 1784; and at New York City, N. Y., Jan. 11, 1785.

On the 4th March, 1789, the present Constitution, which had been adopted by a convention and ratified by the requisite number of States, went into operation.

Population of the United States at Decennial Periods.

Census Years	White Persons	Colored Persons			Total Population
		Free	Slave	Total	
1790	3,172,464	59,466	697,897	757,363	3,929,827
1800	4,304,489	108,395	893,041	1,001,436	5,305,925
1810	5,862,004	186,446	1,191,364	1,377,810	7,239,814
1820	7,861,937	238,156	1,538,038	1,776,194	9,638,131
1830	10,537,378	319,599	2,009,043	2,328,642	12,866,020
1840	14,195,695	386,303	2,487,455	2,873,758	17,069,453
1850	19,553,068	434,495	3,204,313	3,638,808	23,191,876
1860	26,964,930	487,970	3,953,760	4,441,730	31,443,322

At this place it is appropriate to re-produce the immortal Declaration of Independence.

IN CONGRESS, TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1776.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee had agreed to a declaration, which they desired him to report. (The committee consisted of Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, Sherman, and R. R. Livingston.)

The Declaration being read, was agreed to, as follows:

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of

the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their emigration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislature, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coast, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction, of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have

conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, **FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES**; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connections between them and the State of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which **INDEPENDENT STATES** may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of **DIVINE PROVIDENCE**, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

GEORGE WALTON.
JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAYNE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGDON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

Rhode Island.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY,

New York.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

Delaware.

CAESAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

Maryland.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Cal'n

Virginia.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, Jun.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

South Carolina.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, Jun.
THOMAS LYNCH, Jun.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON,

Georgia.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

An English historian's recent survey of the Revolutionary War, may be interesting and furnish a new point of view: I take it from Prof. Goldwin Smith's "United States:—"

"The Netherlands, when they rose against Spain and the Inquisition, had a cause terribly great and showed spirit as great as their cause. The cause in which the Americans rose against the imperial government was not so great if it was not largely rhetorical, and the amount of spirit which they showed was proportional. When from drinking patriotic toasts, declaiming against tyranny, tarring and feathering Tories, and hanging stamp collectors in effigy, it came to paying war contributions and facing the shot, enthusiasm declined. Of this Washington became sensible as soon as he had assumed the command. From the lines before Boston, 28th November. 1775, he writes: 'Such a dearth of public spirit and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I may never witness again.' This wail runs through his letters, growing more and more mournful to the end of the war, or at least till the arrival of French aid. From Valley Forge in 1778 he writes: 'Men are naturally fond of peace, and there are symptoms that may authorize an opinion

that the people of America are pretty generally weary of the present war. It is doubtful whether many of our friends might not incline to an accommodation on the grounds held out, or which may be, rather than persevere in a contest for independence.' ”

From Philadelphia, 30th December, 1778, he writes: “If I were called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men from what I have seen, heard and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; while the momentous concerns of the empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit which in its consequences is the want of everything, are but secondary considerations and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect.” John Adams had oratorically decreed that the war should be violent and short, but oratory does not shorten war or make anything violent but passion. The eloquent opponents of the tea duty did not, like the opponent of ship-money, take the field. They were content with the part, to use a phrase adopted by Washington, of chimney corner heroes. If John Adams could sigh as he said he did for things as they had been before the war, the people were not likely to feel that the change was worth much of their money or their blood.

When the war came their way they would readily turn out, and fight well in their own sharp-shooting fashion in defence of their own states, but they would not readily turn out in the Continental cause even though the assembly of Virginia might offer to any patriot who would take arms to deliver the country from slavery three hundred acres of land and a healthy sound negro. If they did turn out it was for a fixed term, and at the end of that term they insisted upon taking their departure, notwithstanding it might be the eve of a battle, carrying with them their arms and ammunition, not assuredly because they lacked courage, but because they lacked zeal in the cause. “Soldiers absent themselves from their duty in numbers, staying at their homes, sometimes in the employment of their officers; drawing pay, while they are working on their own plantations or for hire.”

The troops of Connecticut at one time were mostly on furlough, and Washington finds such a mercenary spirit pervading them that he could not be surprised at any disaster. Regiments are expected in vain, harvest and a thousand other

excuses being given for delay. At a critical moment a militia is reduced from six thousand to less than two thousand. It takes all the exertion of the officers to induce a corps to stay six weeks on a bounty of ten dollars. Washington's army in short is always moulting; there is not time to drill the men before they are gone, and discipline is impossible because if it was enforced they would go. Washington complains also of the want of patriotic feeling among the people. The conduct of the Jerseys, he says, "is most infamous; instead of aiding him they are making their submission as fast as they can. Pennsylvania militiamen, instead of responding to the summons of the Council of Safety, exult at the approach of the enemy and over the misfortunes of their own friends. The disaffection of Pennsylvania is beyond conception. The people bring supplies as readily to the royal army as to their own; more readily in fact since the royal army pays not in paper but cash." Officers appropriate the money for the payment of the troops. Cabals and intrigues about appointments, jealousies between soldiers from different states, selfish interests of all kinds are stronger than adherence to the cause.

There was the pride too, though Washington does not mention it, of the Virginia gentlemen who looked down on the New England trader not less than the officer of the royal army had looked down on those of the colonial militia. All this goes far towards justifying the King's judgment and that of his informants as to the strength of the resistance and the chances of the war. The army, Washington says, was at one time losing more by desertion than it gained by recruiting. Deserters, defaulters, and malingerers, of whom there were also plenty, had every excuse that the failure of the commissariat and the arsenals could give. Two thousand men at one time were without firelocks, and the supplies of food and clothing seem to have been always most defective. That his men should be starving, shivering, and marking their marches over the snow with their blood, while forstallers, regraters, and monopolists are flourishing, stings Washington to the soul. The end of the dealings of Congress with the army was that the army became a skeleton, and there was at last a mutiny of the Pennsylvanian militia which was prevented from being fatal only by the personal ascendancy of the general. A sufficient force of regular troops, serving for adequate pay and pensions, was Washington's constant desire.

Cromwell's insight taught him, after Edgehill, that instead of men serving only for pay he must form an army of men whose hearts were in the cause. Washington's insight after a few months of command taught him that when enthusiasm had grown cold an army must be formed

of men serving for good pay. "When men," he says, "are irritated and passion inflamed they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over to expect the bulk of an army to be influenced by anything but self-interest is to look for what never did happen." Cromwell and Washington alike recognized the supremacy of discipline. "To lean on the militia," says Washington, "is to lean on a broken reed. Being familiar with the use of the musket they will fight under cover, but they will not attack or stand in the open field."

States refused to tax themselves and Congress had no power to tax them. Its war budget was one of confiscations, forced requisitions, and paper money. From the printing press, its mint, issued ever increasing volumes of paper currency, the value of which as usual rapidly declined, and all the faster the more Congress and its partisans, like the French Jacobins after them, had recourse to violence to make bad money pass for good. A hotel bill of seven hundred pounds was paid with three pounds cash. The phrase came into vogue, "Not worth a continental." At last, as Washington said, there was almost a stagnation of purchase. There could not fail to ensue a fearful disturbance of commerce and of commercial morality. Debts contracted in good money were paid in worthless paper. Washington was himself thus defrauded while he was serving the country without pay, a wrong of which he speaks with his usual magnanimity. Gambling and speculation naturally followed. Fortunes were made by knaves and riotous living went on while the army suffered and dwindled to a shadow. Years afterwards Tom Paine, no straight-laced economist, seriously demanded that any one who proposed to return to paper money should be punished with death. The inestimable clause in the American constitution forbidding legislation which would impair the faith of contracts, may perhaps be regarded in part as a memorial of those evil times.

A fleet, Congress can scarcely be said to have had. But what local assistance, independently of the armies of the central government, did on land, privateers manned by the hardy seamen of New England did at sea. A number of English merchantmen were captured in American waters, and Paul Jones in his *Bonhomme Richard* made himself the terror of the English coasts. The royal navy however presently asserted its superior power, and American commerce was swept from the sea.

The surrender of Burgoyne proved decisive, as it brought France to the aid of the Americans. Ever since her loss of Canada she had been intriguing through her agents in the colonies. From the outset of the war she had been sending *secret aid* to the revolutionists, and lying when expostulations

were addressed to her. The motive of her government was enmity to England. But there was a section of her aristocracy which had embraced political reform and even begun to dally with revolution, a pastime for which the salons afterwards paid dear. A youthful scion of this section, Lafayette, fired at the sight of American revolt, had gone forth on a republican crusade and become the companion in arms of Washington. After Burgoyne's surrender American envoys were able to persuade the French government to make a treaty with the colonies and go to war with Great Britain, from whom France had received not the slightest provocation. Spain was afterwards drawn in, not by sympathy with the Americans whom she regarded as dangerous neighbors to her American dependencies, but by the hope of recovering Gibraltar; Holland by maritime jealousies and disputes. Thus England, in addition to her revolted colonists, had the greatest military power in Europe and the three greatest naval powers on her hands. She lost that command of the sea which had enabled her to crush the commerce of the colonists, to wear them out by pressure on the seaboard, and to choose her own point of attack. On the other hand her national spirit was aroused to do battle with her ancient foe. Chatham would have dropped the colonies and turned on France. Lord North, being no Chatham, sent out commissioners with overtures of reconciliation, offering the colonies representation in Parliament. Of course his attempt proved worse than vain. A great French fleet under d'Estaing soon appeared on the scene. A French army was to follow, and the French treasury supplied Congress with the hard cash of which it was by this time in the sorest need. Incompatibilities and misunderstandings between the French and their colonial allies put off the catastrophe, but the balance was decisively turned and the result was no longer in doubt. "To me," said Washington, August 20th, 1780, "it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themselves much longer." "If," he added, "the temper and resources of the country will not admit of alteration, we may be reduced to seeing the cause in America upheld by foreign arms." That time had now come.

It was in the dark hour before the arrival of French aid that treason entered into the heart of Benedict Arnold, the commander of the all-important lines upon the Hudson. Arnold had been one of the best of the American commanders, perhaps the most daring of them all. He had reason to complain of slights and wrongs, not at the hands of Washington who valued and trusted him, but at the hands of the politicians. He seems to have despaired of the revolutionary cause and to have shrunk from the French alliance, suspecting as did others that the French had designs on Canada, and to have made up

his mind to play Monk. He opened clandestine negotiations with Clinton, whose adjutant and envoy was the ill-starred Andre, a young man of culture and sensibility. By Arnold's invitation Andre visited the American lines, and on his way back fell into the hands of the enemy while Arnold had just time to escape. Whether having been drawn into the American lines by their commander he was guilty of having acted as a spy must be decided by martial law, which has rules and a phraseology of its own. But it can hardly be said that he was tried. He was convicted and sentenced solely on his own statement, of which the incriminating part was taken, while to the exculpating part, his averment that he had been unwittingly drawn by Arnold within the lines, no weight was allowed, though the evidence for both was the same. Greene, who presided over the court, had written before the trial: "I wrote you a letter by the post yesterday respecting General Arnold. Since writing that letter General Washington is arrived in camp and the British Adjutant General and Joshua Smith, both of whom are kept under strong guard. They are to be tried this day and doubtless will be hung tomorrow." It seems vain to cite the foreign officers who sat in the court of inquiry as impartial judges; they were enemies of England and of Englishmen. Andre was hanged with great parade, his prayer that he might be shot having been refused by Washington, and as his enemies denied him a soldier's death his country did right in giving him more than a soldier's tomb. It seems certainly to have been hinted to Sir Henry Clinton that Andre might be exchanged for Arnold. If the hint came from any important quarter a dark shade is cast upon the execution of Andre.

After Burgoyne's disaster and the proof which the Northern States had on that occasion given of their spirit, the royal commanders turned to the South, which they might hope to detach and save for the king, even if the North was lost. In the South there was reason to believe that Royalism was stronger than in the North. The people were not Puritan, they were more monarchical than those of New England, more simple-minded, and being not traders or manufacturers but husbandmen, they had been less galled by the laws of trade. Clinton took Charleston, the chief southern port and city, with a large garrison and great stores. Cornwallis, left in command while Clinton returned to New York, gained an easy and complete victory over very superior numbers at Camden in South Carolina, the militia giving signal proof of the truth of Washington's saying that they would not stand against regulars in the open field. He afterwards gained a victory less easy or complete over Greene, the best of the American generals save Washington, at Guildford. Tarleton also did won-

ders with his light horsemen though he soon found his match in the American Marion. But Tarleton with a detachment of Cornwallis' force under his command, attacking in his over confidence with weary troops, was defeated at the Cowpens; the only battle, if an engagement on so small a scale can be called a battle, lost in open field by the King's troops during the war. The local loyalism, though fiery and too often cruel, proved not staunch, and the effect of the incursion was rather to let loose mutual massacre and plunder amongst the motley population of Dutch, Germans, Quakers, Irish Presbyterians, and Scotch Highlanders, than to bring the colonies back to their allegiance. A combined French and American attack on New York appearing imminent, Cornwallis, recalled by Clinton, fell back into Virginia and intrenched himself on a neck of land at Yorktown on the Chesapeake Bay, in a position which so long as his own fleet commanded the bay was a stronghold, but when the command of the sea was lost became a trap.

The command of the sea was lost by the arrival of a French fleet under DeGrasse, with which there was no British fleet to cope. Washington uniting his army to that of Rochambeau, they moved together on Yorktown, while some misunderstanding, as it appears, between Cornwallis and Clinton retarded Clinton's aid. Cornwallis, in a desperate position and beleaguered by an army four times outnumbering his effective force, after turning his eyes for some days to the sea in the vain hope of discerning British sails, was compelled to capitulate and march out, as the painting in the hall of the Capitol depicts him, between the lines of French and American troops. Washington had the modesty and generosity to keep off spectators. This was the end. It would not have been the end if America had been a foreign enemy and the heart of the British nation had been really in the struggle. It was not the end of the contest with France, Spain, and Holland. But of the contest with the colonies it was the end. The American farmers might go home, hang up their muskets and follow the plough as they had in "the old colony days."

The famous Bill of Rights of Virginia, by George Mason, is republished in *Southern Civilization*, and it gives me pleasure to have it printed again for the benefit of our readers:

THE VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS.

The Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention, which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of Government. Unanimously adopted June 12th, 1776.

I. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at times amendable to them.

III. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when a government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

IV. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community but in consideration of public services, which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator or judge to be hereditary.

V. That the legislative, executive and judicial powers should be separate and distinct; and that the members thereof may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain and regular elections, in which all, or any part of the former members to be again eligible or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

VI. That all elections ought to be free, and that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, the attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed, or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not in like manner assented, for the public good.

VII. That all power of suspending laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial

jury of twelve men of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man can be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.

IX. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

X. That general warrants, whereby an officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

XI. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury of twelve men is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

XII. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

XIII. That a well-regulated militia, composed of a body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free state; that standing armies in time of peace, should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

XIV. That the people have a right to uniform government; and therefore, that no government separate from or independent of the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

XV. That no free government, or the blessing of liberty, can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

XVI. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other."

(See original in Elliott's Debates in Convention.)

"The Constitution was framed to conform to the principles declared in the preceding. Bills of Rights have been prefixed to the Constitutions of all the States then and since organized. In principle, they are all nearly the same. The Declaration of Rights is considered more sacred than the constitutional pro-

visions for the government. The form of the Constitution may be changed; but the political rights of man, as scheduled in the bill, are considered to be too sacred to be altered. All governmental decrees, whether constitutional or statutory, must conform to the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights."
—Shaffner.

PART III.

After peace was made with Great Britain, the States naturally fixed their attention upon local affairs. The desolation wrought by the long war of seven years was the local calamity of each State, and the ways-and-means of making repairs, was a local problem. Hence the National Congress was neglected; State assemblies were the more important. The army dwindled to eighty men, and when imposts were laid for federal purposes, the money was not readily forthcoming. As a consequence, the national credit was low, if not extinct. The Confederation was a sovereign agency created by sovereign states, and it did not act directly upon the citizen at all. Congress made its demand upon the States, and they upon their citizens. The State had the power to enforce obedience by the people, but Congress had none to enforce obedience by the States.

Statesmen who believed in a strong government—men like Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Morris, etc.—set on foot a movement which at length resulted in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The delegates were instructed to revise the Articles of Confederation, but they disregarded their instructions, deliberated behind closed doors, and adopted an entirely different form of government.

This was submitted to the people and was not to be operative until it had been ratified by nine States. Nearly a year passed before New Hampshire, the ninth State accepted the new plan, and made it automatically operative. The organization of the new government was effected March 4th, 1789. At the time George Washington was elected first President, the States of North Carolina, Rhode Island, and New York were not in the Union.

It will not be amiss to quote here a few pages from "The Rise and Fall of the Model Republic", a deeply interesting work by James Williams, late American Minister to Turkey:

A REVIEW OF THE EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE
FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL UNION, AND THE
AUTHORS OF THE CONSTITUTION, IN REGARD TO
SECTIONAL AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY QUESTIONS.

To a correct solution of the causes which produced the rupture of the Federal Union, and to estimate their weight, it is almost essential that we should commence our investigations upon the first page of its history.

Very great confusion in the public mind in regard to American affairs has grown out of the fact that the history

of the changes which have taken place in the Government of the United States since the first Revolution have not been understood or duly considered. Although it may be presumed that at the present day information in this respect is generally diffused, yet a brief reference to these changes may be of service to the general reader.

The First Government of the United States.

The thirteen North American colonies of Great Britain, through their delegates, in a Convention which assembled in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, established 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union' between the several colonies. The following extracts from these articles indicate the nature and objects of the league:

Article 1. The name of this Confederacy shall be the United Colonies of North America. [On July 2, 1776, the word 'colonies' was changed to 'states' by Act of Congress, upon which day was assumed the title, 'United States of America.' On the 4th of the same month was issued the formal Declaration of Independence. It was under the operation of this Government that George Washington was appointed Commander-in Chief of the Army of the Confederation.]

Article 2. The United Colonies hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, binding on themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the securities of their liberties and properties, and their mutual and general welfare.

Article 3. Each colony shall enjoy and 'retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdiction within its own limits.'

In the third year of Independence, that is, on July 7, 1778, the first Government was abolished, and Congress adopted other 'Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union:'

Article 1. The style of this Confederacy shall be 'The United States of America.'

Article 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by their confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Article 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare.

Article 13. The articles of the Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual: nor shall any alteration be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and afterwards confirmed by the Legislature of every State.*

*Many persons, by a very natural confusion of the several Constitutions, have assigned this clause to the present Constitution, and

Third Government of the United States.

In the twelfth year of Independence, that is, on December 17, 1787, the second Government of the United States was abolished, as far as concerned the States which sanctioned the formation of the new Government, and was succeeded by a third.

This was accomplished by a Convention of Delegates, representing ten of the States, at the head of which was George Washington. The States, however, not being unanimous in desiring a change, there was some discussion as to how far the last article above recited would be binding. It was decided that no restriction contained in that clause could prevent such States as might choose to do so from resuming their delegated powers and establishing a new league. They accordingly adopted an article providing that 'the ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.' In effect the requisite number of States did approve the Constitution thus formed. They therefore seceded from the previous Government, and established themselves under that league from which the Southern States seceded upon the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidency. It was not, however, until May 29, 1790, that the last of the thirteen States, Rhode Island, consented to join the new league. New York did not enter until July 26, 1789; and North Carolina did not give in her adhesion until August 7 of the same year. Thus these three States did not become members of the new Union until after the election of George Washington as the first President.

Although the powers delegated by the States to the Federal Government were more clearly defined in the last than in the two which preceded it, yet the principle of State sovereignty was as carefully guarded in the one as the other. Each one declared that the object of the league was 'to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare.' And the third Government, from which the Southern States withdrew, declared in the articles of the compact that 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

Although the Constitution of the third and now existing

hence have concluded that this prohibition precluded the Southern States from the right to withdraw themselves from the Federal Union, whereas it was in violation of this very clause that the late Union was established; at first by nine of the twelve States which were parties to the preceding league.

Government of the United States as finally adopted bears evidence of the compromises and concessions which were mutually agreed upon by the representatives of the different interests, States, and sections, yet we can discover more clearly the ground-work of the sectional troubles which afterwards, under the stimulant of presidential elections, were employed to produce the dissolution of the Union, by examining the propositions in detail as brought forward and sustained by the respective representatives of each. If after these compromises had been achieved by mutual concessions there had never been any general elections which might serve to revive the recollection of these differences, and thus excite the popular mind, we might have reasonably hoped that the same calm councils which concurred in creating would have maintained the Constitution in its purity. The North had far greater cause to desire the perpetuation of the Union upon the compromises of the Constitution in the year 1860 than existed in 1787. Nothing short of the demoralising influence of presidential elections could ever have so blinded that shrewd, far-seeing, and sagacious people, as to induce them to forego all the advantages of a peaceful political connection with the Southern States, by endeavoring to rob the latter of their constitutional prerogatives. In truth, I can discover no reason for believing that the Northern people as a body would ever have placed themselves in an attitude of hostility to the South, but for the influence of that army of agitators and political adventurers which was brought into being through the instrumentality of presidential contests. There did, however, exist conflicting interests, and other mutually repelling influences, which rendered the task of the agitators more easy of accomplishment.

The debates in the Convention which formed the Constitution afford us a clear view of the sectional antagonisms which were finally developed into their present proportions.

The Constitution provided that three-fifths of the slaves should be estimated in deciding upon the number of representatives to which the Slave States should be entitled in the Federal Congress, and in the assessment of direct taxes for the benefit of the general Government.

Also that those who escaped into the Free States should not be made free on account of any laws existing in said States, but should be delivered up on the application of the legal owner.

We find, by reference to the debates upon these topics in the Convention, that although there may be discovered the germ of sectionalism, founded upon the supposed pecuniary antagonisms between the North and the South, yet there was even less difficulty in effecting a compromise upon this question than upon others involving also the interests of the two

sections. Some of the bitterest opponents of slavery were delegates from the South; while a few of the Northern adversaries of the South opposed the foregoing provisions—not alone because ‘slavery was opposed to humanity, and was seriously detrimental to the progress in prosperity and wealth’ of their Southern brethren—but because it involved the North in the necessity of expending its blood and treasure to protect the Southern people against slave insurrections! The Free States would consent to this heavy burthen, however, upon condition that the Federal Government might be permitted *to tax the exports of Southern slave labour* as an equivalent. They already exercised the right of imposing heavy duties upon foreign imports, and of transporting Southern produce by means of navigation laws, in Northern ships, to the exclusion of other competitors for the carrying trade; and if to this had been added the right (*they were also in receipt of both protection and large bounties paid by the general Government to their fisheries*) to tax the exports of slave labour, the South might well have prayed King George to take them back again, and do to them his will in the way of taxes, imposts, and stamp duties. It would probably be unjust to deny to the few Northern anti-slavery men of that day the merit of sincerity in their philanthropic endeavors to mitigate the evils of slavery; but the least censorious even may not deny that they mingled with this benevolent sentiment *a fixed purpose to increase their worldly stores through the instrumentality of the condemned institution.*

The following additional extracts from the debates in the Convention (as reported by Mr. Madison) cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive to those who desire to know the individual views and sentiments of the members:

August 8, 1787.—Mr. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, could not reconcile his mind to the proposition (concerning the admission of slaves was a most grating circumstance to his mind.) In two great points the hands of the Congress were absolutely tied. The importation of slaves could not be prohibited. **Exports could not be taxed!** Is this reasonable? What are the great objects of the general system? First, defence against foreign invasion; secondly, against internal sedition. Shall all the States, then, be bound to defend each, and shall each be at liberty to introduce a weakness which will render defence more difficult? Shall one part of the United States be bound to defend another part and that other part be at liberty not only to increase its own danger, but to **withhold the compensation for the burden.** If slaves are to be imported, shall not the exports produced by their labour supply a revenue, the better to enable the general Government to defend their masters? There was so much inequality and unreasonableness in all this that the people of the Northern States could never be reconciled to it. At all events either slaves should not be represented, or **exports should be taxable.**

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, moved to insert ‘free’

before the word 'inhabitants.' Domestic slavery is the most prominent feature in the aristocratic countenance of the proposed Constitution. The vassalage of the poor has ever been the favourite offspring of aristocracy. And what is the proposed compensation to the North for a sacrifice of every principle of right, of every impulse of humanity? They are to bind themselves to march their militia for the defence of the Southern States against those very slaves of whom they complain.

Without pausing to comment upon the peculiar and characteristic code of morals under which the two last speakers proposed to assist "in the sacrifice of every principle of right, and every impulse of humanity," provided they could be guaranteed a pecuniary compensation commensurate with the greatness of the crime they were called upon to uphold, one cannot fail to be struck with the language of exaggeration they employed in referring to the services they would be called upon to render.

If they were not speaking in irony, the sequel has been a striking commentary upon their judgment. The only occasions upon which the North has ever interfered between the blacks and the whites of the South were first clandestinely, and afterwards openly, to place the dagger in the hands of the slaves, with instructions to slay their masters. But to continue:

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, considered the fisheries and the western frontier as more burthensome to the United States than the slaves.

The motion of Mr. G. Morris (to insert 'free') was rejected—all the States voting against it, except New Jersey.

August 21.—Mr. Luther Martin proposed to vary Article 7 so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. Slaves weakened one part of the Union which the other part were bound to protect. It was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonourable to the American character, to have such a feature in the Constitution.

Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, would readily exempt the other States from the obligation to protect the Southern States against the slaves. He was not apprehensive of insurrections.

Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every State import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the States themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the States are the best judges of their particular interests.

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, can never receive the plan, if it prohibits the slave trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Congress that State has expressly and watchfully expected that of meddling with the importation of negroes. If the States be all left at liberty on this subject, South Carolina may by degrees do of herself what is wished, as Virginia and Maryland have already done.*

*From the moment these words were uttered up to the present the only protection afforded by the North to the Slave States was the protection which vultures give to lambs.

Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut, disapproved of the slave trade; yet, as the States were now possessed of the right to import slaves, as the public good did not require it to be taken from them, and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of Government, he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it. He observed that the abolition of slavery seemed to be going on in the United States, and that the good sense of the several States would probably by degrees complete it.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia.—This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. He mentioned the instructions given by Cromwell to the commissioners sent to Virginia to arm the servants and slaves, in case other means of obtaining its submission should fail. Maryland and Virginia had already prohibited the importation of slaves. North Carolina had done the same thing in substance. All this would be in vain, if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands, and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia.

Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, had never owned a slave, and could not judge of the effects of slavery upon character. If it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go farther, and free those already in the country. As slaves also multiply so fast in Virginia and Maryland that it is cheaper to raise than import them, whilst in the sickly rice swamps foreign supplies are necessary—if we go no farther than is urged, we shall be unjust towards South Carolina and Georgia. Let us not intermeddle. As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slavery useless.

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina.—If slavery be wrong it is justified by the example of all the world. He cited the case of Greece, Rome, and other ancient States; and the sanction given by France, Spain, England, Holland, and other modern nations. In all ages one half of mankind had been slaves. If the Southern States were let alone they will probably of themselves stop importation. He would himself, as a citizen of South Carolina, vote for it. An attempt to take away the right as proposed will produce serious objections to the Constitution.*

General Pinckney * * * South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. The slaves would rise in value, and she has more than she wants * * * He contended that the importation of slaves would be for the interest of the whole Union * * * He admitted it to be reasonable that slaves should be dutied like other imports.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, thought we had nothing to do with the conduct of the States as to slaves, but ought to be careful not to give any sanction to it.

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, considered it as inadmissible on every principle of honour and safety that the importation of slaves should be authorised to the States by the Constitution. The true

*In effect, South Carolina prohibited the slave trade the same year, and from that time to the present, except during three years, the prohibition has been rigidly enforced.—'South Vindicated,' p. 200.

question was whether the national happiness would be promoted or impeded by the importation, and this question ought to be left to the National Government, not to the States particularly interested. If England and France permitted slavery, slaves are at the same time excluded from both those kingdoms.

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, thought the Southern States could not be members of the Union if the clause should be rejected.

Mr. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, thought the subject should be considered in a political light only. He remarked on the exemption of slaves from duty (on importation), whilst every other import was subjected to it, as an inequality that could not fail to strike the commercial sagacity of the Northern and Middle States.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, wished the whole subject to be committed, including the clauses relating to taxes on exports and to a Navigation Act. These things may form a bargain amongst the Northern and Southern States.

Mr. Pierce Butler, of South Carolina, said that he would never agree to the power of taxing exports.

Mr. Sherman said it would be better to let the Southern States import slaves than to part with them.

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved to commit Section 6, as to a Navigation Act requiring two-thirds of each House (instead of a bare majority).

Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts, did not see the propriety of it. He desired it to be remembered that the Eastern States had no motive to union but a commercial one. They were able to protect themselves. They were not afraid of external danger, and did not need the aid of the Southern States.

August 25.—**General Pinckney, of South Carolina**, moved to strike out the words 'the year eighteen hundred,' as the year limiting the importation of slaves, and to insert the words 'the year eighteen hundred and eight.'

The first part of the report was then agreed to, amended as follows: 'The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808.' (States voting for extension of the term for importation of slaves were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. States voting against the extension were New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. The remaining States were not represented in the Convention.)

The following clause was agreed to *nem. con.* viz.: A tax or duty may be imposed on such importations not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

Provision for Rendition of Slaves.

August 29.—**Mr. Pierce Butler, of South Carolina**, moved to insert after Article 15: 'If any person bound to service or labour in any of the United States shall escape into another State, he or she shall not be discharged from such service or labour in consequence of any regulations subsisting in the State to which they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justly claiming their service or labour'—which was agreed to *nem. con.*

There stands *The Fugitive Slave Law*, in all its length and breadth and thickness. The authors were George Washington,

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, and their associates in the Constitutional Convention, all of whom either voted for its enactment, or suffered it to be passed without one word of opposition. So far as we may learn from the recorded proceedings of that distinguished body of patriots and statesmen it became part and parcel of the fundamental law of the Union, by the unanimous voice of all the representatives of all the States, slave and free. More than half a century afterwards the world of Abolitionism was thrown into convulsions by the announcement that a wicked South and a truculent North had decreed the 'infamous enactment.' All Europe participated in the excitement, and joined in the hue and cry of the North against the arrogant and wicked exactions of the 'slave power.' Of course there was not one in a thousand who filled the lecture halls of England to listen to the rhapsodies of Abolition orators, who did not believe that the constitutional provision was as recent as the excitement; and fewer still who knew that its authors were the men who fought the battles of the First Revolution, and were known in history as the 'Fathers of the Republic.' Although the wire-workers of presidential contests in the United States could not plead ignorance of this requirement of the Constitution, yet the higher-law doctrine of 'conscience before constitutions' had been already accepted as the guide of Northern politicians; and immediately the leading Abolition States enacted laws, making the attempt to enforce this provision of the Constitution a penal offence punishable as a crime of the highest magnitude. The intended effect was produced upon the public mind. Politicians eagerly mounted upon the wave of popular passions which were evoked by the discussion, and rode safely into the possession of the offices they coveted.

But there existed the germ of another sectional issue at the period of the formation of the Constitution, which was afterwards developed into a bitter controversy and struggle between the North and the South, and which for a long time, as a chief element in presidential contests, threatened to divide the Union. I refer to the protection claimed by the North for its manufactures by means of high duties upon foreign imports. The representatives of the Southern States, as will be seen, proposed to restrain the exercise of this power, but the controversy was finally adjusted by conferring upon Congress the right to tax foreign imports for purposes of revenue only. As this subject became afterwards a source of sectional agitation, scarcely second to the question of slavery itself, the discussions in regard thereto in the Constitutional Convention may not be without interest to the reader:

Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina, moved—'That no Act of the Congress for the purpose of regulating the commerce of the United States with foreign powers among the several States shall be passed without the assent of two-thirds of the members of each House.' He remarked that there were five distinct commercial interests:—1. The fisheries and West India trade, which belonged to the New England States. 2. The interests of New York lay in free trade. 3. Wheat and flour were the staples of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. 4. Tobacco the staple of Maryland and Virginia, and partly North Carolina. 5. Rice and indigo the staples of South Carolina and Georgia. These different interests would be a source of oppressive regulations, if no check to a bare majority should be provided. States pursue their interests with less scruple than individuals. The power of regulating commerce was a pure concession on the part of the Southern States. They did not need the protection of the Northern States.

General Pinckney (also of South Carolina) said it was the true interest of the Southern States to have no regulation of commerce; but considering the loss brought on the commerce of the Eastern States by the Revolution, their liberal conduct towards the views of South Carolina (on the slavery question), and the interest the weak Southern States had in being united with the strong Eastern States, he thought it proper that no fetter should be imposed on the power of making commercial regulations, and that his constituents, though prejudiced against the Eastern States, would be reconciled to this liberality.

Mr. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, alluding to Mr. Pinckney's enumeration of particular interests as requiring security against abuse of the power, observed that the diversity was itself security.

Mr. Pinckney replied that his enumeration meant the five minute interests. It still left the two great divisions of Northern and Southern interests.

Mr. G. Morris, of Pennsylvania, opposed the object of the motion as highly injurious. Preferences to American ships will multiply them till they can carry the Southern produce cheaper than it is now carried. A navy was essential to security, particularly of the Southern States, and can only be had by a Navigation Act encouraging American bottoms and seamen.

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, was in favour of making two-thirds instead of a majority requisite, as more satisfactory to the Southern people. As to the weakness of the Southern States, he was not alarmed on that account.

Mr. Spraight, of North Carolina, was against the motion. The Southern States could at any time save themselves from oppression by building ships for their own use.

Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, differed from those who considered the rejection of the motion as no concession upon the part of the Southern States. He considered the interest of these and of the Eastern States to be as different as the interests of Russia and Turkey. Being, notwithstanding, desirous of conciliating the effects of the Eastern States, he should vote against requiring two-thirds of a majority.

Colonel Mason, of Virginia.—The majority will be governed by their interests. The Southern States are the minority in both Houses of Congress. Is it to be expected that they will deliver themselves bound hand and foot to the Eastern States, and thus enable them to exclaim in the words of Cromwell—'the Lord hath delivered them into our hands.'

Mr. Madison observed that the disadvantage to the Southern States from a Navigation Act lay chiefly in a temporary rise of freight, attended, however, with an increase of Southern as well as Northern shipping, and with the emigration of Northern seamen and merchants. An abuse of the power would be qualified with these good effects. But he thought the abuse was rendered improbable by the provision of the two branches—by the independence of the Senate—by the negation of the Executive * * * and by the accession of Western States, which would be altogether agricultural.

Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, said that there were features in the Constitution so odious as it now stands that he doubted whether he should be able to agree to it. A rejection of the motion would complete the deformity of the system.

Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts.—If the Government is to be so fettered as to be unable to relieve the Eastern States, what motive can they have to join in it, and thereby tie their own hands from measures which they could otherwise take for themselves? The Eastern States were not led to strengthen the Union by fear for their own safety. He deprecated the consequences of disunion; but if it should take place, it was the Southern part of the continent that had most reason to dread them. He urged the improbability of a combination against the interests of the Southern States—the different situations of the Northern and Middle States being a security against it. It was, moreover, certain that foreign ships would never be altogether excluded.

On the question (to require two-thirds), it was decided in the negative—Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia—Aye, 4. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina—No. 7.

There was not exhibited, however, in the Convention so much jealousy between the two sections, as distinguished by the terms Northern and Southern, as between the larger and the smaller States. The diversities of interest which might thereafter arise between the two great sections was a contingency of the future—the differences between the large and small States was a present fact. All the States agreed that the separate sovereignty of each should remain intact, in all that related to their domestic affairs, and that the general Government should only be employed in regulating their intercourse with foreign nations and with each other. The large States insisted that this constitutional provision afforded sufficient security for the protection of the small States against encroachments. The latter replied that this was well enough as far as it went; but they urged that, in right of their sovereignty, each State, as a distinct political element, should have an equal representation in the Senate. This admission of, and protection to their sovereignty conceded, they were willing that the other branch of the National Legislature should represent numbers. One reason, perhaps, why the differences which might occur between the North and the South excited but little apprehension, arose from the fact that there was no very great disparity in their relative strength, and it was sup-

posed that the accession of Western States would still farther strengthen the South against any efforts of the Northern States to usurp the control of the Government. It must be borne in mind that the commercial antagonisms between the North and the South grew out of the difference of their pursuits. Many men were opposed to slavery both on political and social grounds; but the hostility to that institution did not extend to the master. The sternest and most uncompromising adversaries of the system of slavery were found in the Slave States. At the period of time we are now considering, the authorized teachers of religion had not announced the dogma that the slave-holder was precluded by the Divine will from entering after life upon the joys of the Christian's paradise.

Although we, therefore, find an occasional reference to the antagonisms between the North and the South, and an intimation that a combination might be formed between the Northern States which would be injurious to the interests of the South, yet the Northern representatives uniformly replied that such a concentration would in the nature of things be impossible, for the reason that the Western States would be the allies of the South; and this, too, seemed to be the opinion of the great body of the Southerners. The small States, however, were not so readily satisfied that they would not be swallowed up, unless their distinct nationality should be substantially recognised in the arrangement of the details and organization of the Government. In illustration of the sentiments and opinions of the members of the Convention in regard to this point I will make some farther extracts from the proceedings as reported by Mr. Madison:

Wednesday, June 27th.—Mr. Luther Martin, of Maryland, contended at great length, and with great earnestness, that the general Government was meant merely to preserve the State Governments, not to govern individuals. That its powers ought to be kept within narrow limits—that if too little power was given to it, more might be added—but that if too much, it could never be resumed. That individuals, as such, have little to do but with their own States—that to resort to the citizens at large for their sanction to a new Government would be throwing them back to a state of nature—that an equal vote in each State was essential to the Federal idea, and was founded not merely in policy but on justice and freedom—that the States, like individuals, were in a state of nature equally sovereign and free—that the States, being equal, cannot confederate or treat, so as to give up an equality of votes, without giving up their liberty. The general Government ought to be formed for the States, not for individuals.

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, thought that if any political truth could be grounded on mathematical demonstration it was that if the States were equally sovereign now, and parted with equal proportions of sovereignty, that they would remain equally sovereign.

He could not comprehend how the smaller States would be injured in the case.

Mr. Madison, of Virginia, could neither be convinced that the rule contended for was just, nor that it was necessary for the safety of the small States against the large ones. Was a combination of the large States dreaded? This must arise either from some interest common to Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania (the three large States), or from the mere circumstances of similarity of size. Did any such common interest exist? In point of situation, they could not have been more effectually separated from each other by the most jealous citizens of the most jealous States. In point of manners, religion, and the other circumstances which sometimes beget affection between different communities, they were not more assimilated than the other States. In point of the staple production, they were as dissimilar as any three other States in the Union.

Mr. Sherman, of Connecticut.—The question is not what rights naturally belong to man, but how they may be most equally and effectually guarded in society. If some give up more than others to obtain this end there can be no room for complaint.

June 29th.—Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut.—The controversy must be endless whilst gentlemen differ in the grounds of their arguments—those on one side considering the States as districts of people composing one political society, those on the other considering them as so many political societies. The fact is, the States do exist as political societies, and a Government is to be formed for them in their political capacity as well as for the individuals composing them. Does it not seem to follow that if the States, as such, are to exist, they must be armed with some power of self-defence? Besides the aristocratic and other interests which ought to have the means of defending themselves, the States, as such, have their interests, which ought to have the means of defending themselves. On the whole, he thought that, in some respects the States are to be considered in their political capacity, and in others as districts of individual citizens—in one branch the people ought to be represented, and in the other the States.

Mr. Gorham, of Massachusetts.—The States as now confederated have no doubt a right to refuse to be consolidated, or to be formed into any new system. But he wished the small States to consider which are to give up most—they or the larger ones.

Mr. Madison entreated the gentlemen representing the small States to renounce a principle which was confessedly unjust. He prayed them to ponder well the consequences of suffering the Confederacy to go to pieces.

Mr. Alexander Hamilton.—It has been said that if the smaller States renounced their equality, they renounced at the same time their liberty. The truth is, it is a contest for power, not for liberty. He admitted that common residence within the same State would produce a certain degree of attachment, and that this principle might have a certain degree of influence on public affairs. He thought, however, that this might by some precautions be in a great measure excluded, and that no material inconvenience could result from it, as there could not be any ground for combination amongst the States whose influence was most dreaded. The only considerable distinctions of interest lay between the carrying and non-carrying States, which divides instead of uniting the largest States.

Mr. Pierce, of Georgia, considered the equality of votes under

the Confederation as the great source of the public difficulties. State distinctions must be sacrificed as far as the general good required, but without destroying the States.

Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts * * * The States and the advocates for them were intoxicated with the idea of their sovereignty. He was a member of Congress at the time the Federal articles were framed. The injustice of allowing each State an equal vote was long insisted on. He voted for it, but it was against his judgment, and under the pressure of public danger, and the obstinacy of the lesser States.

(Upon the vote which was taken at the close of this discussion it was decided that the rule of suffrage in the first branch of the Legislature should be in accordance with the populations of the different States.)

Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, moved—"That the rule of suffrage in the second branch [the Senate] be the same with that established by the Articles of Confederation [that is, that the States should be equally represented]. He was not sorry, on the whole, he said, that the vote just passed had determined against the rule in the first branch. They were partly national partly Federal. The proportional representation in the first branch was conformable to the national principle, and would secure the large States against the small. An equality of voices was conformable to the Federal principle, and was necessary to secure the small States against the large. To the eastward he was sure that Massachusetts was the only State that would listen to a proposition for excluding the States as equal political societies from an equal voice in both branches. The others would risk every consequence rather than part with so dear a right. The power of self-defence was essential to the small States. Nature had given it to the smallest insect of the creation. He could never admit that there was no danger of combination amongst the large States. They will, like individuals, find out and avail themselves of the advantage to be gained by it. It was true the danger would be greater if they were contiguous and had a more immediate and common interest.* The existing Confederation was founded upon the equality of the States in the article of suffrage.

Mr. Baldwin, of Georgia, would vote against the motion of Mr. Ellsworth, though he concurred with those who thought it would be impossible for the general Legislature to extend its cares to the local matters of the States.

Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, in an elaborate speech, insisted that the representation in the Senate should be in accordance with the populations of the respective States. The rule of suffrage ought, he said, on every principle, to be the same in the second as the first branch. Much has been said of an imaginary combination of three States. It would be easy to prove, both from reason and history, that rivalships would be more probable than coalitions; and that there are no coinciding interests that could produce the latter. If the motion should be agreed to, we shall leave the United States

*Although this distinguished citizen of Connecticut did not judge rightly in regard to the combination which was the object of his immediate fears, yet he seemed thoroughly to have understood the encroaching disposition of his countrymen, when he intimated that if contiguous States could be united upon any common interest, they would not respect the constitutional rights of the weaker members, but would combine to overthrow them.

fettered precisely as heretofore under the Confederation.* He thought the States necessary and valuable parts of a good system.

Mr. Ellsworth.—No instance of a confederacy has existed in which an equality of voices has not been exercised by the members of it. The danger of combinations among the States is not imaginary. Although no particular abuses could be foreseen by him, the possibility of them was sufficient to alarm him. He appealed to the obligations of the Federal compact, which was still in force, and which had been entered into with so much solemnity.

Mr. Madison contended that the States were divided into different interests not by their difference of size, but by other circumstances, the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. These two causes concurred in forming the great division of interests in the United States. It did not lie between the large and small States. It lay between the Northern and Southern; and if any defensive power were necessary, it ought to be mutually given to these two interests. He was so strongly impressed with this important truth, that he had been casting about in his mind for some expedient that would answer the purpose. He would preserve the State rights as carefully as the trial by jury.

Mr. Bedford, of Delaware, contended that there was no middle way between a perfect consolidation and a mere confederacy of States. The first is out of the question, and in the latter they must continue, if not perfectly, at least equally sovereign * * * Are not the large States evidently seeking to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the small? They think, no doubt, that they have right on their side, but interest has blinded their eyes. The small States are willing to observe their engagements, but will meet the large ones on no other ground but that of the confederation.

Mr. Ellsworth.—Under a National Government we should participate in the national security; but that was all. What he wanted was domestic happiness. The National Government could not descend to the local objects on which this depended. It could only embrace objects of general nature. He turned his eyes, therefore, for the preservation of his rights to the State Governments. From these alone he could derive the greatest happiness he expects in this life. This happiness depended on their existence, as much as a new-born infant on its mother for nourishment.

Mr. King, of Massachusetts.—As the fundamental rights of individuals are secured by express provisions in the State Constitutions, why may not a like security be provided for the rights of the States in the National Constitution?

Mr. L. Martin, in reply to a suggestion that a committee should be appointed to devise 'a compromise,' said that no modifications whatever could reconcile the smaller States to the least diminution of their equal sovereignty.

Mr. Randolph, of Virginia, reminded the small States that if the large States should combine, some danger of which he did not

*The motion was agreed to in substance, and the Government was so 'fettered,' notwithstanding which the combination then deemed impossible did afterwards take place—the North against the South—with an avowed purpose which, if accomplished, would despoil the Southern States of their constitutional rights. Can it be believed that the South did not possess the right by the very letter and spirit of the compact to resist?

deny, there would be a check in the revisionary power of the Executive; and intimated that, in order to render this still more effectual, he would agree that in the choice of an executive each State should have an equal vote.

The State's-rights party finally triumphed, and the Convention adopted the rule that, in the senatorial or second branch of the National Legislature, *each State should have an equal vote.*

These extracts from the proceedings of the Convention of States, which seceded from the second Confederation and established the late Union, enable us to obtain a clear insight into the thoughts, the passions, the interests, and the sympathies of those who framed the compact of the Union. It is true that, by a perusal of the provisions of the Constitution itself, the mind is led almost irresistibly to the conclusion that they were the results of concessions and compromises between adverse opinions and interests; but here we enter into the very thoughts of the actors, and are by this means enabled to discover more clearly the meaning of all its various parts, by the detailed expression of the individual sentiments of those who embodied them into a Constitution.

We discover that a certain number would have favored the absorption of the State Governments into a general Government, and the establishment of a monarchy; but they accompanied the announcement of their individual opinions by a distinct disclaimer of any intention to press their views upon the Convention in opposition to the almost unanimous public sentiment. Upon a single point, with the few exceptions before referred to, the entire body of members was agreed—namely, *the preservation of the sovereignty of the State Governments*, except in such cases as certain powers might be *specifically delegated* to a Federal Government, limited to the regulation of the foreign and domestic intercourse of the States.

There was a severe struggle between the large and the small States in regard to the principle of representation. The large States insisted that they should be allowed an influence in the Federal Government proportioned to their relative wealth and population; yet they at the same time repelled the idea that they wished to infringe in the slightest degree upon the sovereignty of the individual States. But the majority insisted firmly that the States were not only sovereign, but equally sovereign—that they would not enter into a union unless that sovereignty and equality were admitted—and that it must be recognized by the admission of each State to an equal voice in the senatorial branch of the National Legislature. It is made clear by the debates that the Convention would

have adopted other safeguards for the protection of the weak States against the encroachments of the stronger, if it had not been believed that it would be impossible to form a combination of States sufficiently powerful to menace seriously the independence or the liberties of the others.

In reference to the power of *coercion* centred in the Federal Government, it will be observed that it was only intended to be applied within the States in aid of the constituted State authorities. It would assist in putting down a rebellion *within* a State; but the idea of applying the force of the Federal Government against a State needed only to be hinted at to be scouted by the entire Convention. When this point came to be incidentally discussed, upon a resolution empowering the Government *to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duties under the articles thereof*, Mr. Madison observed:

The more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted its practicability, justice and efficacy, when applied to people collectively and not individually. A union of the States, containing such an ingredient, seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound.

Colonel Alexander Hamilton remarked that a certain portion of military force was absolutely necessary in large communities; but how can this force be exerted on the States collectively? It is impossible.

In effect, the motion of Mr. Madison to postpone the section referred to, in order that some system might be framed to render the application of force unnecessary, *was unanimously adopted* (see 'Madison Papers,' vol. ii. p. 761). Here we have proof positive that the entire Convention, embracing every State, repudiated the bare intimation that the Government of the United States might apply force against a State, even though the latter *'might oppose the carrying into execution the acts of treaties of the Federal Government'* (see also 'Madison Papers,' vol. ii. p. 863).

Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Colonel Humphries (March 18, 1789), properly defines the nature of the league between the States in the following words: 'The best general key for the solution of questions of power between our Governments is the fact that every foreign and federal power is given to the Federal Government, and to the States every power purely domestic.' About the same time he wrote: 'The Federal is in truth our foreign Government, *which department alone* is taken from the sovereignty of the several States.'

It is manifest in every act of the Convention that the al-

legiance of the citizens was regarded as primarily due to the States to which they respectively belonged, and only secondarily to the Government of the Union. Just as individuals of a nation are bound by the treaties of their own Government with foreign States, so were the citizens bound to the Government of the United States. But the moment that a State, through its regularly constituted authorities, repudiated the authority of the Federal Government, that very instant the citizen of such State was released from his legal obligation to the Government of the Union. How could it have been otherwise? Could the citizen serve two masters who were at war with each other? The *States*, through their representatives, formed the Union, each one having an equal voice without reference to wealth or population. They voted upon each and every article as *States*, not as representatives of the people of the Union as a single community. The State laws operated constantly upon the citizens—the United States laws rarely, and then only in the exceptional cases which might arise between themselves and foreigners, or, what was the same thing, between citizens of different States. Under the State laws they derived their title to their lands—under the State laws they were protected in their rights or punished for their offences: the State laws provided for the transmission of their estates to their descendants. In short, all the functions of internal Government were performed by the States while the Government of the United States had no authority, nor did it even exercise any authority over the individual or his property, except in the rarely occurring instances specifically designated in the Constitution. To avoid all misconception, the Constitution provided in a separate article that *all such powers as were not specifically granted to the general Government were reserved to the States respectively, and the people.*

Whatever may have been the merits of the controversy between the Federal and State authorities, the responsibility of the individual for acts committed against the Government of the Union was merged and lost in that of the State by whose authority and command he acted. How, then, is it possible that a citizen of a State, acting in obedience to the laws of his State, could be released from his obligations as a citizen? Even admitting that he owed a certain fealty to the two Governments, yet, when they were at war with each other, he must serve one and oppose the other; and in serving his own State, he could not, by virtue of any law, human or divine, be regarded, in the proper legal signification of that term, as in rebellion against the Federal Government. Hence, when the latter power decreed the confiscation of the property of citizens of the Southern seceding States and inflicted grievous and degrading wrongs against their persons, because

they were acting in obedience to the requirements of the Governments to which they owned allegiance, it was nothing less than an act of brigandage, as wholly unjustified by the laws of the country or the usages of civilised nations, as it was repugnant to every principle of justice or humanity. How far one nation may be justified in attempting or accomplishing the subjugation of another, will probably be decided in the future, as it has been in the past, by the sword; but after the passions engendered by the conflict shall have subsided, the moral sentiment of the world must unite in condemning that nation which in effect conducts even a war of conquest upon the same principles which govern highway robbers.

Mr. Madison's View of the Federal Compact.

As to the right of the Southern States to withdraw from the Union, the questions involved have been so thoroughly discussed that but little is left to say. Yet it may not be inappropriate to refer to the opinions of those who framed the Constitution, and who ought to have understood the effect and meaning of their own acts. We again quote from a speech of Mr. Madison—who may be said to have been at least a Father of the Constitution—delivered before that Convention, of which he was a leading and most influential member:

It has been alleged (said Mr. Madison) that the Confederation, having been formed by unanimous consent, could be dissolved by unanimous consent only. If we consider the Federal Union as analogous to the fundamental compact by which individuals compose one society, and which must, in its theoretic origin at least, have been the act of the component members, it cannot be said that no dissolution of the compact can be effected without unanimous consent. A breach of the fundamental principles of the compact by a part of the society would certainly absolve the other part from their obligations to it. If the breach of any article by any of the parties does not set the others at liberty, it is because the contrary is implied in the compact itself, and particularly by that law of it which gives an indefinite authority to the majority to bind the whole in all cases. This latter circumstance shows that we are not to consider the Federal Union as analogous to the social compact of individuals; for if it were, a majority would have the right to bind the rest, and even to form a constitution for the whole. If we consider the Federal Union as analogous, not to the social compacts amongst individual men, but to the conventions amongst individual States, what is the doctrine resulting from these conventions? Clearly that a breach of any one article, by any one party, leaves all the other parties at liberty to consider the whole convention as dissolved.

It would be impossible to define in clearer language the plain intent and meaning of the Constitution than this exposition by one who aided in its construction, and which was addressed to his colleagues, who approved his views. I presume that there will not be found any disinterested persons

who will say that the spirit of the compact had not been broken by the North before the secession of a single Southern State. The entire body of Northern States had combined together to usurp the exclusive control of the Government of the Union, and were pledged to an unconstitutional interference with the domestic institutions of the Southern States. Clergymen and politicians of the North had been during a number of years engaged in stimulating the fanaticism and the passions of the multitude against the Southern States, until they were wrought up to such a pitch of fury and madness as rendered it apparent that there was no longer any safety for the South in the Union. The Southern States did not attempt to revolutionise the Government. They merely withdrew from a Union which had become hateful to them, and from a people who cherished against them the bitterest feeling of rancour. They felt that their safety and happiness were no longer to be hoped for in a political union with the North, and they said to their Confederates: 'The great continent of America is broad enough for both of us: let us part in peace.' The answer to this just demand is known to the world.

When we consider that every four years, under the system of presidential elections, the nicely-balanced compromises of the Union were submitted to the operation of heated debate and a popular vote with such an ever-augmenting population from foreign countries, a large portion of whom were of different races, speaking different languages, operated upon by different motives, with different tastes, habits, and principles who, without any practical knowledge of such a Government, entered almost at the moment of their arrival into the business of king-making for the Republic—our only wonder should be that the Federal Union was not sooner overthrown.

PART IV.

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position*

Let the reader bear in mind that the Constitution under which we are now living, was a compromise agreement between thirteen separate States, *each of which was as complete a sovereignty in itself, as Sweden is today.*

The compromises were upon the three great subjects of (1) the States' equality in the new confederation, (2) the protection of slavery, and (3) the regulation of foreign and interstate commerce.

The equality of States is still maintained in the Senate; but Slavery was forcibly abolished, in spite of the solemn compact; and the control of commerce has been carried to such extremes that the States can barely market their own products, within their own borders, without Federal interference.

The word "National" was not allowed to appear in the Constitution, when it was framed; and the States are separately referred to as "them," "they," "each"—the plural form being used, *invariably*. So it is yet, on paper; but in practise, the United States are not plural any more, but singular: we don't say The United States "*are*," as The Fathers did: we say "*it*," and we have a nation, not a confederation. The national character of the Federal Government becomes more pronounced, from year to year; and the *federated* idea grows ever more shadowy and feeble.

No power was given to the Supreme Court to degrade the legislative branch, by annulling acts of Congress; but the Federalist judges, appointed by Washington, soon usurped the power.

The construction given to the "general welfare" clause, and the elastic quality of the "implied powers," have enabled the Government to adopt almost any sort of law which the nine old lawyers on the Supreme Bench considered desirable. In the last resort, therefore, our laws depend upon the will of nine men chosen from one profession. These nine Supreme Legislators are usually the graduates of corporation law-offices, foisted upon the people by partisan Presidents.

It was proposed in the Convention that the Federal Government be given authority to charter corporations. The motion was renewed several times, but was lost, every time. This was not known to Mr. Jefferson, when he opposed Hamilton's national bank, in Washington's cabinet; *but it was known to both Washington and Hamilton.*

The members of the Convention had pledged themselves to *secrecy*, and the pledge was well kept until the publication of Madison's papers in 1843. Why it was that neither Washington nor Hamilton paid any respect to the will of the Con-

stitutional Convention, of which Washington was President, and Hamilton an active member, it is difficult to understand. The truth is, each of these great men was lacking in faith in the people, and wanted the strongest possible concentration of power in the Federal Government.

Owing to the First Compromise made in the Constitutional Convention, we have a mixed form of Government, wherein two different principles are represented. It seems strange that The Fathers *who surrendered so much of the States' equality and sovereignty*, failed to realize that two antagonistic principles cannot dwell together, in peace. The one necessarily would seek to *control*. In the very nature of things, that is always so.

While the Senate still stands for the equality and the reserved rights of the States, it does so in theory alone; for in its legislation it slavishly serves the stupendous autocracy of wealth, which controls the populace through money, employment, and subsidized journalism.

The lower House, based upon numbers, is of course, *national*; and the smaller States are overwhelmed by the larger. Consequently, the reserved rights of the States have ever been in danger, when the great States differed from the small.

In the Electoral College, the two antagonistic principles are compromised. Each *State* is represented by two delegates, but the population by its numerical strength.

The result has been that enormous campaign funds sway and debauch the floating venal populace, leaving the States at the mercy of national numbers.

When the Presidential election is thrown into Congress, the equality of States is *again* asserted, in theory, because each State has only one vote. But as a majority in the Congressional delegation speaks for the State, we see once more how the national principle dominates the federal. *Numbers* prevail over *State-units*.

Consequently, in the long contest between the two opposing principles, it will be seen that *nationalism*, has steadily grown at the expense of *State* rights. Logically, it had to be so, since the President and the Congress look to the national vote for election and re-election.

Under the new Military law, the far-reaching health laws, the unconstitutional extension of the Census Bureau, the pure-food laws, etc., the States are rapidly sinking, in the national scale, to the position occupied by the counties, in the State system.

The irony of fate has willed, that these tremendous advances in *centralization* have been made, mostly, at the instance of fanatical "reformers" who didn't care two buttons

about the ultimate consequences to our mixed system of government.

They wanted what they wanted, so fiercely and impatiently, that they didn't reckon the *damage to the principles*, any more than the Abolitionists did, in the Fifties, when Millard Fillmore wrecked the Whig party by signing the Fugitive-slave Act—in accordance with the second Constitutional Compromise.

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

During colonial times, there were no national political parties, until the Stamp Act agitation. When this began, rebels became Whigs, and loyalists remained Tories. The hatred of the one to the other, was murderous. After the Revolutionary War there were no *national* parties, until the new Constitution of 1787 was offered for adoption. This issue sharply divided the people; and such leaders as Patrick Henry, Luther Martin, Richard Henry Lee, and George Mason strongly opposed the proposed government, upon the those very grounds which sincere democrats and republicans can now see were just, wise, and patriotic.

Events have vindicated the objectors, for the centralizing tendencies which they detected and fought, have transformed our Republic into a Plutocracy based on class-legislation, Special Privilege, and military force.

When Washington was chosen first President, there were no political divisions. He was the choice of all. During his administration, however, fierce feuds began to spring into life, caused by the Internal revenue laws, the assumption of State debts, the creation of a national bank, the establishment of a Tariff system, and the negotiation of the Jay treaty with Great Britain.

Pennsylvania was the scene of a rebellion against the tax on whiskey; and the President had to call out the militia of three States to quell the insurrection. The assumption and funding of State debts by the federal government, was seen to be the beginning of the British financial system, with the bank and the bondholder supremt. The Tariff was also recognized as an importation from England, far more unjust and oppressive than any taxes that King George had threatened to impose upon the Colonies. As to the treaty, negotiated by John Jay, of New York, it was so complete a surrender of Southern interests to Northern and British greed, that it aroused a storm of protest.

However, nothing could withstand Hamilton's arts and management, when backed by Washington's popularity.

But when John Adams succeeded to the Presidency, the

day of partisan politics had come. His opponents took the name of Republicans, while his supporters were known as Federalists. Mr. Adams made the mistake of keeping Washington's cabinet-officers, and these were Hamilton's men. One of them, Oliver Wolcott, was a treacherous knave, who betrayed the President to Hamilton, the bitter enemy of Adams. Thus the Federalist party was rent into factions, paving the way to defeat and extinction.

Mr. Adams and his good spouse, Abigail, had some big ideas that were not suited to the people or the times. Those notions were too aristocratic, not to say royal. President Washington had been lordly enough, in all conscience, but he never thought of making it a crime to criticise the government, or its chief. Personal abuse in the newspapers angered him furiously, but he stopped at "cussing" the editor. Adams, however, went farther: he obtained from Congress a law which penalized his critics. He was given power to send undesirable *aliens* out of the country, and to fine, or imprison those who were guilty of *sedition*. According to President Adams, it was seditious to tell the truth on public men and measures, if harsh language was used.

These Alien and Sedition laws gave the death-blow to the Federalist party. Congressman Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, was the most conspicuous victim of Adams' vindictiveness, and the stubborn fight Lyon made for freedom of the press, entitles him to honorable mention in all such books as this.

He wrote a sort of Farewell, Go-to-h—ll letter to Adams; and, as this queer document gives a Republican account of a Federalist administration, I present the more important parts of it.

"City of Washington,
59 minutes before one, a. m.
March 4, 1801.

Fellow Citizen:

Four years ago this day, you became President of the United States, and I a Representative of the people in Congress; this day has brought us once more on a level; the acquaintance we have had together entitles me to the liberty I take, when you are going to depart for Quincy, by and with the consent and advice of the good people of the United States, to bid you a hearty farewell. This appears to me proper, as I am going to retire, of my own accord, to the extreme western parts of the United States, where I had fixed myself an asylum from the persecutions of a party, the most base, cruel, assuming and faithless, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation. That party are now happily humbled in "dust and ashes, before the indignant frowns of an injured country," but their deeds never can be forgotten.

In this valedictory, I propose, without further ceremony, to bring to your view, a retrospect of some part at least, of your public conduct during the last four years. In doing this, I shall not trouble you or myself with the fair promises in your inauguration speech, or those three volumes, in which is displayed your love of royalty and Great Britain. Your early endeavors to involve this country in an endless war, and draw forth her resources on the side of monarchy against republicanism, forms a trait in your history which much more deserves my notice. Your first speech to the Fifth Congress, containing groundless insinuations, that Charles C. Pinckney was authorized to discuss and investigate the demands of the French nation for redress, of what they called grievances, pre-saged with your retirement—and when looking over that speech I beg you to reflect on the base manner in which you abused Mr. Monroe, and the French government, because he had, according to his instructions, cultivated a good understanding with that government; and on your childish nonsense about dividing the people from the government. I hope, sir, you are not past blushing at what a school boy would be ashamed of. The people of this country can never be divided from the government; you have brought yourself into hatred and contempt with them, but they never could be induced to view you and your executive officers as the government. No! The government they love and respect, and have accordingly put it into better hands. You will now have leisure, sir, to look over your second speech to the same Congress, when I hope you will recollect how you swelled and strutted when you were abusing the nation you were hypocritically pretending to make up differences with.

Look at the list of laws which you sanctioned that session, giving new and unconstitutional powers to yourself. You will have time to review all the fulsome addresses to you from a misguiding multitude; I will not pretend to describe the sensations they will produce, when you reflect how they buoyed up your pride, flattered your vanity, and persuaded you the day was approaching and nigh at hand, when an hereditary crown would be offered you. Read over your answers, sir, which invoked more and more addressess, until the whole store of the folly and sycophancy of our country became exhausted. Pitiful indeed must be your feeling in passing home through the now Democratic State, New Jersey, which formerly so copiously furnished you with piping hot addresses every morning for breakfast; the servility of a few of their abandoned citizens studied your palate and changed the cookery of the dish oftener than your kitchen servants.

You came to the administration, sir, under the most favorable auspices at the time when if there were parties in this

country, they were by no means hostile to each other; when the increasing revenue was sinking the public debt; when the Federal judiciary held a share of popularity in this country, and were regarded with respect; when the contributions toward the public expense sat tolerably easy on the people, when this country was considered as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and there was a great influx of foreign riches, industry and ingenuity; when this country was happy in the freedom of speech and of the press; when the Constitution was considered a barrier against legislative, executive and judicial encroachments, and before the people were divided into castes of gentlemen and simple men; before offices, places and contracts, were considered as the exclusive right of the favorite caste. Reflect a little, sir, and see this awful change made in four short years. I will give you a slight view of it. You commenced your career, sir, by professions which promised to unite all honest men to you, but they were mere professions; your mad zeal for monarchy and Britain, your love of pomp, your unhappy selection of favorites, your regardlessness of the public treasure, the hard earnings of your fellow citizens, has divided the people into parties and fostered among them envy, malice and rancorous hatred towards each other; father has been set against son, and son against father, brother against brother, neighbors and friends have lost their former relish for the social enjoyments.

Under your administration, sir, a system of appointments has been established by which implicit faith in your infallibility and a knack of discoloring the truth became the only qualification to office, or to entitle a person to a contract.

Under your administration, sir, useless and expensive embassies have prevailed to an alarming degree. Offices and officers, almost without number, have been created and appointed, all out of the favored caste; while merit and abilities have been disregarded; capable, discerning and popular men have, by you and your minions, been discharged from the service of their country, without being vouchsafed a reason for their degradation. Your administration, sir, has been famous for contracts; there is not a doubt but in future the secret records of your Navy Office will be studied by your friend Wm. Pitt, and those he wishes to give favorite contracts to; there the oldest and the wickedest British speculators may learn new modes of managing advantageously about contracts.

The judiciary, sir, under your untoward administration, have alarming encroachments on the rights of man; they have adopted the British maxim of non-expatriation, in the face of every principle heretofore held dear in this country, and in contradiction to many of the State Constitutions. They

have been endeavoring to introduce the crude, cruel, undigested, inapt and obsolete system of the common law into our national jurisprudence; and they have, in defiance of the express prohibition in the Constitution made pass for treason, a crime defined in laws by another name, and there decreed to be punished by fine and imprisonment. Your conscience recoiled at this; it seems you were not prepared for everything. Your old friend Hamilton abuses you for the only good thing you ever did in your life; he ought to have excused you, and recollected how your imagination had been tortured by the ghost of Jonathan Robbins. Your confederate in that case, Judge Bee, it seems you have provided well for in this world, but there is another world, to which you have sent poor Jonathan, where you must both meet him. May you by sincere repentance be prepared for that awful meeting.

Under your administration, sir, and with your consent, your fellow-citizens have had a heavy addition to the tax on salt; their houses and lands have been subjected to an unprecedented tax; a tax on licenses for selling the liquor but just before taxed; as well as an odious tax on paper, parchment and vellum has been instituted; and the taxes on some other articles of consumption have been raised. These heavy and additional contributions have not sufficed you to have the command and disposition of: No. Many millions have been borrowed at an enormous interest, to satiate the appetites of the greedy courtiers for which the future earnings of your fellow-citizens stand pledged.

An Alien Law, sir, bears your signature, which unconstitutionally subjected to your sovereign will the liberty and banishment of every alien, whatever might be his connection in, and attachment to this country; and the terms of citizenship have been rendered almost inaccessible, by which the best disposed and the most able and useful emigrants have been deterred from coming to this country; and many have been obliged to fly from your vindictive wrath.

Perhaps in no one instance has our Constitution, our sacred bill of rights, been more shamefully, more barefacedly trampled on, than in the case of the passage of the bill called the Sedition Law. This, sir, was your darling hobby horse. By this law you expected to have all your follies, your absurdities, and your atrocities buried in oblivion. You thought by its terrors to shut the mouths of all but sycophants and flatterers, and to secure yourself in the Presidency at least; but how happily have you been disappointed,—the truth has issued from many a patriot pen and press,—and you have fallen, never, to rise again.

It has availed you little, sir, to have me fined \$1,000, and imprisoned four months for declaring truth long before the

Sedition Law was passed; to have Holt and Haswell fined \$200 and imprisoned two months each; the one for calling the late disbanded army a standing army, and the other for publishing the sentiments of your Secretary of War, in his letter to General Darke; to have Cooper fined \$400 and imprisoned six months, because he resented your publishing his confidential application to you for an office he was truly worthy of. You complained of the breach of confidence in the case of Tench Coxe, but you had forgot your perfidy to Cooper. Those attempts to stifle an investigation of your conduct only accelerated your fall. When you have read thus far you cannot but recollect the benevolent Mr. Ogden, and your rudeness to him, that man who had formerly been your panegyrist, and who possessed as great a share of the milk of human kindness as ever filled the breast of man, who took a journey of 400 miles through the Northern regions, to carry the petitions of the Vermonters for their Representative, and to try his powers of persuasion on Mr. Adams. Mercy for his favorite friend was to be his theme. I told Mr. Ogden that you were vindictive and revengeful, and that he would be disappointed. His good nature would not suffer him to believe me. He tried the experiment; he failed; but how cruel was it of you, sir, to add insult to unkindness. After your refusing to comply with his request, he said you could not let him go without morosely telling him that you supposed it was in his behalf you had been solicited for an office in the Customs in Connecticut, and that his interference in behalf of Colonel Lyon had put it out of your power to do him any favor. Cruel indeed! It was enough to disappoint his expectations of flying to his imprisoned friend with the joyful news of his enlargement. It was too much to tell him his own hopes were all blasted; it broke his heart. Sir, he had not hoped so much on his own account of the aged, unprovided widow of General Wooster who would have shared with him the emoluments. That office, I understand, was among the sacrifices your old friend, the General, made at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. But, sir, the good Mr. Ogden wants no place now from you or any other earthly potentate. He has got a place in Abraham's bosom, and he no doubt looks down from heaven on you with ineffable pity and tender compassion.

I must finish my letter, sir, where you finish your administration, that is with your late nominations. I have been told, sir, that you have given one Secretaryship and four Judgeships for laying the ghost of Jonathan Robbins, besides Judge Bee's appointment; or, in other words, you give as a premium to the man who made the most learned and perplexing speech in your favor, the Secretaryship. It is a

maxim with the lawyers and popish priests, I believe, that the greater the villainy to be exculpated from, the greater the fee.

The Secretaryship became precarious, the service rendered was great indeed, and not to be forgotten. The judiciary was the only permanent fund to be applied to, and so long as there was a brother or a sister to make claim, they, it seems, have been ordered to draw upon it until all were satisfied. The same fund has served you an excellent purpose for legacies to your poor and distant relatives, as well as for rewarding the Tories who have been the firmest friends to your administration. Through the whole of your late nominations you have proceeded, sir, as if you took counsel from the infernal regions. Some men, (who are not thought very highly of either,) have spurned your nominations avowedly to avoid the disgrace they confer.

Come, pray sir, cool yourself a little. Do not coil round like the rattlesnake, and bite yourself. No, betake yourself to fasting and prayer awhile. It may be good for both body and soul. That is a safer remedy for an old man in your situation than the letting of blood.

Suffer me to recommend to you that patience and resignation which is characteristic of the holy religion you profess. I hope and pray that your fate may be a warning to all usurpers and tyrants, and that you may, before you leave this world, become a true and sincere penitent, and be forgiven all your manifold sins in the next. I repeat it, this is the sincere wish and prayer of your fellow-citizen,

M. LYON."

(From Kentucky, this champion of democracy was elected to Congress. Later, he represented a District in Arkansas. His vote defeated Aaron Burr, and made Jefferson President.)

T. E. W.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON, 1801-1809.

"The lesson taught by the tie vote between Jefferson and Burr at the election in 1800 led to an amendment to the Constitution requiring that the electors, in future elections, should "name in their ballots the person voted for as President and, in distinct ballots, the person voted for as Vice-President." This is the Twelfth Amendment, which was declared adopted on September 25, 1804.

The election of Jefferson was a political revolution; so understood by the people of both parties, and intended by Jefferson himself, not only to reverse the centralizing and monarchical legislation of the past, but at once to do away with the ceremonials borrowed from foreign governments,

which were objectionable to his ideas of republican simplicity. He accordingly aimed to make his inauguration as simple as became the assumption of the chief magistracy by a private citizen of a free country. According to an English traveller, quoted in Randall's "Life of Jefferson," who speaks as an eye-witness of the occasion, "His dress was of plain cloth, and he rode on horseback to the Capitol, without a single guard or even a servant in his train, dismounted without assistance, and hitched the bridle of his horse to the palisades." We may remark that the seat of government was now at Washington.

L The inaugural address of Jefferson will always remain the best and clearest statement of the principles of democratic government. It is in style a little rhetorical full of the spirit of conciliation; full of the faith that the great mass of the people were true in their attachment of democratic government, whatever had been their party divisions in the late election. After modest reference to himself and an appeal to his "fellow-citizens to restore the social intercourse, the harmony and affection temporarily interrupted by the political campaign, without which liberty and even life are dreary things," he went on to declare that every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.

"We have called by different names brethren of the same principles. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments to the safely with which error of opinion can be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that the government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the laws, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said a man cannot be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question."

After reciting our superior advantages by virtue of our free institutions, of the extent and greatness of our country, of the benign influences of religion, he asks:

"With all these blessings what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more,

fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.”

He proceeded to state what are deemed the essential principles of our government, and, consequently, those which ought to shape its administration. This statement, as we have said, is the best exposition ever made of the fundamental doctrines of the party whose leader he was. Its language has passed into our political literature; its general principles, so admirably stated, are quoted today in all political discussions, and have become, as he himself wished and foresaw, “the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust.”

“Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles from the high constellation which has gone before us, and guided our footsteps through an age of revolution and reformation.”

The Cabinet of Jefferson consisted of James Madison, Secretary of State; Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Levi Lincoln, of the same State, Attorney-General; Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the

Treasury; Robert Smith, of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy; and Gideon Granger, of Connecticut, Postmaster-General.

One of the first questions with which Jefferson had to deal was that of appointment to and removal from office. The incumbents were Federalists, and generally bitter Federalists. The story is often told how the new Attorney-General came upon John Marshall, Adams' Secretary of State, while the latter was yet busy signing the commissions of the Federalist judges and others, whose nominations Adams had poured in upon the Senate in the closing hours of his administration.

As this was the first change of administration from one party to another, the question of the President's policy in this particular confronted him on the threshold. In a letter, written a few days after his inauguration, to Dr. Rush, he uses this language:

"With regard to appointments, I have so much confidence in the justice and good sense of the Federalists, that I have no doubt they will concur in the fairness of the position, that after they have been in the exclusive possession of all offices from the very first origin of party among us to the 3d of March at nine o'clock in the night, no Republican ever admitted and this doctrine newly avowed, it is now perfectly just that the Republicans should come in for the vacancies which may fall in until something like an equilibrium in office be restored. But the great stumbling-block will be removals, which, though made on those just principles only on which my predecessor ought to have removed the same persons, will nevertheless be ascribed to removal on party principles. 1st. I will expunge the effect of Mr. A.'s indecent conduct in crowding nominations after he knew they were not for himself, until nine o'clock of the night at twelve o'clock of which he was to go out of office. So far as they are during pleasure I shall not consider the persons named even as candidates for the office, nor pay the respect of notifying them that I consider what was done as a nullity. 2d. Some removals must be made for misconduct."

Among the proper causes for removal he mentioned the conduct of Federal marshals and attorneys who had been engaged in packing juries and prosecuting citizens with the bitterness of party hatred. These removals, he anticipated, would not be over twenty in number out of the thousands of offices in the United States. While not satisfying the clamorous demands of his own party he was particularly anxious to attract permanently to its standard the rank and file of the Federalist party, whom he believed to be really Republicans at heart, and to conciliate them by his moderation. In other words he was making a successful move to destroy

the opposition. The case of the New Haven collectorship is often cited as showing the manner in which he dealt with removals. Mr. Adams had appointed Elizur Goodrich, a Federal member of Congress, to that place after Jefferson's election; and Goodrich had resigned his seat to accept what he supposed would be a permanent position, forestalling a Republican appointment. Jefferson treated his appointment as void. (Wilson's "History Democratic Party.")

PART V.

Mr. Jefferson was nominated the second time (1804) by a Congressional caucus which came quietly into existence like a toadstool, but which lived on, until Andrew Jackson kicked it over.

Jefferson's crowning achievement was the Louisiana purchase, by which we peacefully bought some 757,000,000 acres of land for \$8,000,000.

He was succeeded by James Madison almost as heir at law: as in other cases of inheritance, there was difference between the two. Mr. Jefferson detested national banks, but Mr. Madison approved the Act which chartered the second in 1816.

Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison both issued Treasury notes to supplement silver and gold; the former when he purchased the Louisiana country, and the other, to pay expenses during the War of 1812.

The caucus nominated James Monroe to succeed Madison, and thus three Virginians followed each other, gradually intensifying sectional jealousy, which had existed from the earliest era of Confederation.

After Monroe had served two terms, came the rancorous struggle between Clay, Adams, Crawford, and Jackson. Nearly every one is familiar with the result of the first contest: the election fell to Congress, and the combination of Clay with Adams resulted in the victory of the latter. Clay then made the fatal mistake of accepting the highest office under Adams, and thus embittered the remainder of his long political life. John Quincy Adams was not popular, either in manners or measures, and he served only one term. Andrew Jackson beat him, and came into power on a tidal wave of military popularity.

He inaugurated the Spoils System; smashed the second national bank; sustained a memorable fight with Calhoun and South Carolina, on Nullification; and virtually handed over the Presidential office to Martin Van Buren, a foxy little New York politician.

Among other legacies, Jackson left "little Van" a robust

Panic, which spread desolation far and wide. It was caused by Jackson's rash conduct in requiring coin for the payment of public lands. (Dec. 15, 1836.) This blow at paper money caught the country banks unawares, destroyed confidence, and toppled values of all kinds.

In one of Henry Clay's speeches in Congress, he said:

"The revulsions of 1837 produced a far greater havoc than was experienced in the period above mentioned. The ruin came quick and fearful. There were few that could save themselves. Property of every description was parted with at sacrifices that were astounding, and as for the currency there was scarcely any at all. In some parts of the interior of Pennsylvania the people were obliged to divide bank-notes into halves, quarters, eighths, and so on, and agree, from necessity, to use them as money. In Ohio, with all her abundance, it was hard to get money to pay taxes. The sheriff of Muskingum County, as stated in the *Guernsey Times*, in the summer of 1842, sold at auction one four-horse wagon at \$5.50; ten hogs at 6¼ cents each; two horses (said to be worth from \$50 to \$75 each) at \$2 each; two cows at \$1 each; a barrel of sugar for \$1.50, and a store of goods at that rate. In Pike County, Missouri, as stated in the *Hannibal Journal*, the sheriff sold three horses at \$1.50 each, one large ox at 12½ cents; five cows, two steers and one calf, the lot at \$3.25; twenty sheep at 12½ cents each; twenty-four hogs at 25 cents for the lot."

As early as the 10th of May, 1837, the New York banks refused to pay out gold and silver on their notes, and the example of New York was followed throughout the land.

The "hard times" were laid to President Van Buren; and the Whigs (the name taken by the old National Republicans) plucked up the courage to nominate General William Henry Harrison, with John Tyler, for vice-president.

The Democratic party (discarding the former name of Republican Democrats) nominated Van Buren on a platform consisting of the following declaratory Resolutions—which are given in full, as being the clearest and most comprehensive statement of the principles for which the Jeffersonians of that day stood and fought.

1. That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the gen-

eral government the power to commence or carry on a general system of internal improvement.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local internal improvements or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country—that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

6. That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts, by abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens, and the

L owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our statute-book.

The campaign of 1840 is a most remarkable one; a contest between a party with definite and well-understood policies and principles, under the lead of a candidate who was a thorough representative of these policies and principles on the one side, and a party unable to formulate any platform of policies, led by a candidate whose popularity rested not on statesmanship but largely on his success as an Indian fighter, associated with whom was a Southern politician, whose extreme States' right views had carried him out of the party of Jackson to the party of Calhoun.

But while the argument was all on one side, the noise and enthusiasm were all on the other. The "Log-Cabin" and "Hard Cider" and "Coon-Skins" were taken as symbols of the Harrison party, which represented the identification of the candidate with the plain and poor people. Yet the Bank of the United States and the State banks plunged into the campaign with all their influence, the former to secure its recharter, the latter to secure a repeal of the Independent Treasury Act. The distresses of the earlier years of the administration were used to frighten the people from re-electing Van Buren. The papers were filled with advertisements declaring that the subscriber would pay a certain sum for pork or flour or other products if Harrison were elected, and one-half only of that sum if Van Buren were elected.

The working man was to have good wages and high living in the former event, and low wages and starvation in the latter. Doggerel songs, constant public processions, monster gatherings, excursions, frequent speaking, every means that could be devised to work the whole country into a delirium of excitement were used. The election in the States preceding the general election fore-shadowed the result, but not such a tidal wave as overwhelmed the administration and bore the Whig candidates into power. On the popular vote Harrison had 1,275,016, Van Buren, 1,129,102; but Harrison had carried 19 out of 27 States, and received 234 out of 294 electoral votes. Tyler had the same. It was apparently a complete overthrow of the Democratic party. But it did not dampen its courage or lessen its faith. It felt that its principles could not be overthrown, and the tide of popular excitement would soon ebb away and leave its opponents, united on no common principles, again in the minority.

A significant fact in the election was the appearance of an Abolition party, which cast 7,000 votes for James G. Birney, of New York, for President. It will be observed that

while Van Buren increased his vote 364,000 on his previous election he was still beaten, a fact which led the Democrats to charge that frauds had been committed; but of this no proof has been given. (W. L. Wilson's History Democratic Party, Chap. IX.)

President Harrison died a month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by John Tyler, a man who has not only been much underrated, but shamefully misrepresented. It was consistent with his record to veto a National Bank bill, and to prove loyal to State rights, but because he did so, he was violently assailed by Henry Clay, just as though he had practised deception to get the office. Writhing under the lash of Clay's terrible tongue, the members of the Cabinet—excepting Daniel Webster—resigned. Tyler withstood Clay on his Tariff measures, which violated the famous compromise of 1833. He vetoed two such bills, and it was only when a third—objectionable, but more nearly in accord with his own ideas—was passed, did the President approve.

The Whigs, in 1844, nominated Clay, whose election was considered certain. The Democrats selected a second-rate man, almost unknown, and ran him on the splendid platform of 1840. To Mr. Clay's intense chagrin, he was beaten by the second-rate man, James K. Polk.

During his administration, the celebrated Walker tariff (1846) was adopted; and the Mexican war started and ended. One baleful result of our conquest of a large domain from Mexico, was the renewal of slavery agitation by the "Wilmot proviso", which declared that slavery should never exist in the acquired territory.

The Democratic convention endorsed the President's course in making war on Mexico, but did not re-nominate him. Gen. Lewis Cass was chosen, and he was defeated by Gen. Zach Taylor, who was supposed to be a Whig—although nobody seemed to know or care what his politics were.

The Mexican campaign had made him a popular hero, and that was enough. Thus Polk ditched his own party by that unjust war of his. President Taylor died in 1850, and was succeeded by Vice-President Millard Fillmore.

In the next national convention, the Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce, on the splendid platform of 1840. The Whigs nominated General Scott, who received a large popular vote, but carried only four States, Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Civil War had its overt beginnings during the administration of President Pierce, although the seeds were sown long before, when the Abolitionists spurned the Constitutional Compromise on Slavery, and defied the Con-

stitution itself as "a covenant with hell."

The contest over the admission to statehood of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, was a battle between the Democrats and the Abolitionists, who were soon afterwards to be known as Republicans. With political preachers in New England organizing anti-slavery colonies, and supplying them with Sharp's rifles, the Civil War got its first push, so far as action and bloodshed was concerned. The issue had practically abandoned the arena of oral and written discussion.

It became an issue to be settled by brute force, and both sides strengthened their positions with men and guns, until Kansas became the field of battle and bloodshed.

Most of the territory lay north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and slavery should not have tried to enter it. But the Southern leaders contended that the Compromise of 1850, had set aside the original Missouri Compromise of 1820, and that *the people* in each State should decide for themselves whether or not slavery should be tolerated.

Stephen A. Douglas was the "Little Giant" who led the Southern Democrats to a Pyrrhic victory in the repeal of the older Compromise. It cost the Illinois statesman the Presidency, doomed his party to disruption, and handed the Government over to fanatics who were monomaniacal on one idea and on sectional hatred of the Slave States.

Yet, Douglas was eminently correct from the stand-point of *principle*. Slavery then existed in the colonies of Spain, England, and France: it existed in Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, to say nothing of Austria and Russia, where serfage was virtual slavery.

The "peculiar institution" was *not* confined to the South, and had only been abandoned in the North after it had proven a failure, and the slaves had been sold to the South.

The Constitution recognized, protected, and guaranteed it: consequently, a Compromise which arbitrarily shut it out from territory which had been won, partly by Southern money and blood, *was wrong in principle*.

But the country had grown accustomed to *the fact* of Compromise, and when the Democrats repealed the agreement, they were regarded as wilful breakers of a solemn contract.

The American Party (Know Nothings) sprang into life at this time, but struck upon the rock of slavery, and thus gave itself a mortal hurt, at the beginning.

The Republicans held their first national convention in Philadelphia, in 1856, and nominated Gen. John C. Fremont.

The Know Nothings put out a ticket headed by ex-Presi-

dent Fillmore, of New York, and Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and elected him, not because he received a majority vote, but because Fremont and Fillmore divided the opposition, Buchanan polled 1,838,169 votes; Fremont 1,341,264; and Fillmore, 874,534.

A new party had never shown such phenomenal strength as did the Know Nothings; and the natural consequence was that "old-line" leaders were startled and enraged. They began a campaign against it which was without precedent in violence, vituperation, and wilful distortion of facts.

The time had not yet come, however, for a national campaign of Americanism against Romanism, because Slavery was still the burning, overshadowing issue, and *that* had to be settled first! In the bloody settlement—the four years of the most senseless and unnatural of wars—the Know Nothings disappeared.

President Buchanan's administration drifted, rudderless, in a tempestuous sea. The Kansas-Nebraska tangle became ever more troublesome; and the Supreme Court set every Abolitionist to raving madly, by deciding that the freed negro, Dred Scott, was not a citizen within the meaning of the Constitution. The decision was right, but the fanatics were not; hence, the decision fared badly. Whenever there is fanaticism abroad, nobody is ever right, except the fanatic.

The Democrats had not learned any useful lesson from the election of 1856: therefore, they indulged in the fatal luxury of *not* getting together. No faction would yield to any other, and the majority elected Mr. Lincoln, a minority candidate, by asking the helpless people to choose between three anti-Republican tickets. Had the Democratic leaders shown wisdom, Douglas would have been nominated at Charleston, and he would almost certainly been the next President. With a Northern man, friendly to the South, in the White House, the Slavery question might have been peaceably settled, *by statesmen*, as it was settled in Russia, England, and South America.

At the time the Republicans went into power, there was no national bank; and the currency consisted of *Constitutional money*, namely, gold, silver, treasury notes, and small coins of copper. State banks supplied local needs with a local currency.

The Walker tariff of 1846 had been replaced with one more protective, but still a model of moderation, compared to the atrocious schedules now in force. The national debt was a trifle, in view of the recent acquisition of the vast territories obtained from Mexico by conquest and purchase. There was no "poor class"; no unemployed; no White Slave

traffic, no great Navy, no standing Army. Immigration did not exceed half-a-million a year; and, as yet, the bulk of the immigrants were not paupers and illiterate Catholics. Organized gangs of foreign "gunmen" did not terrorize our cities, and the dynamiter was unknown. There were no bloody collisions between Capital and Labor; no strikes, strike-breakers, and coal-field barbarities. Trusts were unheard of, because the Tariff wall was not high enough to shut out foreign capital, while immigration let in cheap labor. There was no pork barrel system of Internal improvements, raiding the Treasury hundreds of millions; and the Census Bureau was still confining itself to a periodical counting of the population. Hog doctors were not riding around Washington City in automobiles, bought by the Government; and the Federal judiciary had not begun to take unconstitutional jurisdiction in suits brought by private citizens (corporations) against the States.

In short, the Republic was still what The Fathers made it, when the South was ousted from power. This statement isn't born of sectional "prejudice": it is demanded by *truth*.

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CHAPTER II.

CONTENTS: HAMILTON. JEFFERSON. THE TWO SCHOOLS. WHAT THEY ARE, AND HOW THEY HAVE CHANGED

Party names are ever changing. It becomes important therefore to inquire about the Principles upon which the Parties themselves have been founded.

It may be stated as a broad proposition (excluding local, temporary and special issues) that there have never been but two Schools of Political thought in this Country, since the present Constitution was adopted.

In one of these, it was taught that the General Government could only exercise powers expressly granted to it; that the individual citizen should have the freest possible scope, without needless hindrance or direction by the Law; that rigid economy should be the rule in public expenditures; that equal and exact justice should be accorded to all, and special privileges to none; that the Currency of the Nation should be in the control of the People, and not of a special moneyed class of National Banks, or of any other Corporation; that monopolies should be forbidden; that both Gold and Silver should be coined, upon equal terms; that commerce should be free, should not be built up at the expense of Agriculture; and that a large Standing Army and Navy were dangerous to our liberties.

Clear the way for the people

These are the fundamental principles of the Party founded by Thomas Jefferson.

In the other school, it was taught that we needed a strong centralized Government; a strong National Banking System to interest the rich men in National affairs; a Bonded System perpetually Funding and Refunding the National Debt to the great advantage of the Capitalists; Protection of Manufactures at the expense of Agriculture; a Currency System in the control of the Banks; Internal Improvements upon a large scale, and a strong military establishment. In other words, it was sought to create a moneyed aristocracy, supported by special privilege.

Alexander Hamilton was the founder of the School. He made no secret of the fact that he favored a Monarchy, and wished our system to be as nearly like the English, as possible. He wanted the President to hold office during life or good behavior; he wanted the Senate constituted the same way; he wanted the State Governors to be appointed by the Federal Government; he wanted the Militia of each State under the control of the Federal Government, and the Laws of the State subject to Federal veto.

The man who closely studies our institutions at this time will be sure to observe how dangerously near to predominance the Hamilton Doctrine of Class Rule has come.

SECTION 2. *Jefferson had a mortal antipathy to National Banks.*

Here is one quotation which will answer for many. In a letter to Albert Gallatin, dated December 13, 1803, he says:

"This Institution (National Banking System) is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our Constitution."

He then proceeds to give the reasons at length.

In two letters to Jno. W. Eppes in 1813, he renews the fight—opposing the Re-chartering of the Bank.

Of course it will be remembered that when Hamilton first proposed the National Bank, during Washington's Administration, Jefferson opposed it in a masterly paper.

Andrew Jackson was, after Jefferson, the most prominent foe to the System. The Old Hero fought it, with fierce determination. He removed the Government's deposits, vetoed the Act Re-chartering it, and made the issue that the Bank must be destroyed. A hot political battle followed.

Hon. Wm. L. Wilson (Democrat) says in his Book on "The National Democratic Party:"

"The Bank subsidized newspapers, scattered documents, and used its power and influence wherever possible, but nothing could withstand the popularity of Jackson."

He was elected, and the National Banking System had to go out of existence—for awhile.

From the rise of the Democratic Party down to 1860, it always followed in Jefferson's footsteps on the currency question, and one of its permanent Platform Planks was this:

"That Congress has no power to charter a National Bank; that we believe such an Institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the Country, dangerous to our Republic and Institutions, and *the liberties of the people*, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people."

SECTION 3. *It is not necessary to offer proof that the free coinage of both Gold and Silver was a Jeffersonian principle.* It was considered so manifestly just in those early days, that Hamilton did not oppose it. All parties agreed upon Bi-metalism in its true sense of perfect equality in the coinage of both Gold and Silver, upon a ratio of 15 to 1.

It is only of late years that the Money Power has grown insolent enough and shameless enough to demand that all the

financial power shall be given to one of the metals. And it is only of recent years that the Law-making Powers, composed of both Democrats and Republicans, have grown servile enough to register the commands of the Millionaire Bankers.

SECTION 4. It was a part of Hamilton's System of Favoritism, Special Privilege and Class Rule, to levy a tax upon the laborers for the benefit of that class of capitalists engaged in manufactures.

Jefferson opposed this System. He believed that free commerce is a natural right, and that the taxing of one industry to build up another is wrong. Hon. Wm. L. Wilson, in his work already quoted, alludes to the "Protective Tariff" as one of Hamilton's schemes which Jefferson opposed. The great commoner said that manufactures, like agriculture and commerce, would thrive best when left *free to individual enterprise*.

Mr. Wilson states that the election of Jackson over Adams in 1828, was a triumph over the Protective Policy. The following clauses formerly occupied prominent places in the National Democratic Platforms:

"That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another."

In the Platform of 1848, the Country is congratulated upon the "noble impulse given to Free Trade by the Repeal of the Tariff of 1842." In the Democratic Platform of 1856, the Free Trade Principle is set forth in a separate resolution. This was affirmed in the Platform of 1860.

Since the War, the position of the Democrats and Republicans may be fairly stated thus: the Republicans come out flat-footed for Protection—with hypocritical reasons; while the Democrats practise Protection, under hypocritical declarations against it.

SECTION 5. *The founders of the Jeffersonian Party bitterly antagonized the Internal Revenue System.*

Excise Laws were their pet aversions: internal revenue laws were called "infernal."

In the early Platforms of the Democratic Party, it was denied that the General Government had the power to carry on a comprehensive system of Internal Improvements.

The Platforms of 1840 and of 1856 are specially strong on this subject. For many years the two old parties have co-operated heartily in enormously increasing the national outlay for Internal Improvements.

SECTION 6. Briefly, it may be said that the Democratic

Party of today faintly preaches Jefferson, while it practises Hamilton.

The Republicans are Hamiltonians, from heel to head. They preach it and practise it.

SECTION 7. In a letter written from Paris, in 1787, Mr. Jefferson tells Mr. Madison that one of his objections to our present Constitution was that it did not properly provide against *standing armies* and *Monopolies*.

What a great man he was, to see through the mists of the future and foretell the mighty march of militarism and combined capital!

PART II.

When John Quincy Adams was denied a second term in the Presidency, he left Washington City in a rage, just as his father had done some years before. The South had defeated both these New England statesmen, and their resentment was intense. John Quincy was an exceedingly able man, educated far beyond the ordinary standards of his times; and to be routed out of the White House by such a rough backwoodsman as Andrew Jackson, was a bitter humiliation. Securing a seat in Congress, the purpose of his life seemed to be to get revenge on the South.

During his Presidency, the existence of slavery did not appear to vex his soul, but after his defeat it absorbed him. He became monomaniacal upon the subject, and never let an opportunity pass to agitate it, arouse passions with it, fling insults at Southern members, and taunt them on the floor of the House. Even his personal friend, Alexander H. Stephens, declared that the old man's attitude toward Congressmen from the South was intolerably provoking; and when warned that his course would lead to civil war, he shrieked defiance, and virtually confessed that he wanted that very thing.

More than any one person, he was responsible for Secession; for his position in Congress gave to his incendiary speeches and conduct a weight which could not be given to words of Garrison, Phillips, and Lovejoy. Southern leaders saw that the Ex-President was ready for *anything*, no matter how extreme and violent, in his furious war on Slavery.

Of course Mr. Adams knew that Congress had nothing to do with it, so far as the States were concerned; and of course he knew of the Compromise made on the subject by the Constitutional Convention. He knew that the Fugitive slave law originated with George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Elbridge Gerry, Luther Martin and the other "Fathers".

But while New England rang with condemnation of the South for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it took no

blame for attacking the *Constitutional* Compromise which gave birth to the Union.

The South must not be allowed to peaceably withdraw from the third federation, and set up a government of her own; but the compromise which influenced her to accede to the Union, must be set aside.

PART III.

Before the Senate of the United States, January 22d, 1833, Mr. Calhoun laid down his views respecting "the nature of the Constitution in three several resolutions. The first of these resolutions was the main subject of the great debate; and is in the following words:—'*Resolved*, that the people of the several States, composing these United States, are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the Union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a *Union between the States* ratifying the same.' Now, it was against this resolution, that Mr. Webster directed all the powers of his mind. His learning, his subtility, his logic, and his eloquence, were all exerted to the utmost, in order to expose, and to demolish forever, the above several positions of the great Carolinian. Did he succeed?

Mr. Webster objects to the word *acceded* in Mr. Calhoun's first resolution, that it very evidently smells of treason. He moralizes over the danger of this word in the following strain: 'Was it Mirabeau, or some other master of the human passions, who has told us that words are things? They are indeed things, and things of mighty influence, not only in addresses to the passions and high-wrought feelings of mankind, but in the discussion of legal and political questions also; *because a just conclusion is often avoided, or a false one reached, by the adroit substitution of one phrase, or one word, for another.*'

He finds an instance of this adroit use of language in the word *acceded*. 'The first resolution', says he, 'declares that the people of the several States "*acceded*" to the Constitution.' As 'the natural converse of *accession* is *secession*'; so Mr. Webster supposes that Calhoun has 'adroitly', and 'not without a well-considered purpose', shaped his premises to a foregone conclusion. 'When it is stated', he continues, 'that the people of the States *acceded* to the Union, it may be more plausibly argued that they may *secede* from it. If, in adopting the Constitution, nothing was done but *acceding* to a compact, nothing would seem necessary, in order to break it up, but to *secede* from the same compact.' All this is perfectly true. Mr. Webster has in the same speech expressly admitted, in almost

the very language of Mr. Justice Story,—‘The obvious deductions which may be, and indeed have been, drawn from considering the Constitution a compact between States, are that it operates as a mere treaty or convention between them, and has an obligatory force [on a State] no longer than suits its pleasure or its consent continues’, etc. [Com. on Con., vol. iii. p. 287]. If the Constitution is a compact between the States, says Mr. Webster, *‘it subsists only during the good pleasure of the parties, though no violation be complained of’*. Hence the great importance attached to the phrase—‘the States *acceded*’ to the Constitution—which agrees with the idea that the Constitution is a compact between the States, and not at all with the notion that it is a supreme law, ordained and established by a power superior to that of the States, namely, the power of ‘the whole people of the United States in the aggregate’ as one nation.

‘There is more importance’, says Mr. Webster, ‘than may, at first sight, appear in the introduction of this *new word* by the honorable mover of the resolutions. The people of the United States *used no such forms of expression in establishing the present government. IT IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE*. The term *accede* is wholly out of place’. Such are a few of the bold, sweeping, and confident assertions, which occur in the great speech of ‘the great expounder of the Constitution’. In that memorable speech, he has devoted no less than five large octavo pages to this one word ‘*accede*’.

But how stands the fact? Is this *really* ‘a new word’? Was it not, in fact, as familiar to the very fathers and framers of the Constitution of the United States, as it afterwards became foreign and strange to the ears of its Northern expounders? This is the question; and, fortunately, the answer is free from all metaphysical refinement, from all logical subtlety, from all doubtful speculation. For there lies the open record, with this very word *accede*, and this very application of the word, spread all over its ample pages in the most abundant profusion. Why, then, we ask, did not Mr. Calhoun look into that record, and gather up *the facts*, in order to overwhelm, with utter shame and confusion of face, the bold and unscrupulous assertion of his great antagonist? Why did he not retort, we say, the taunt of treason, by such an overwhelming demonstration of the truth? Mr. Calhoun, if we may judge from his writings, was sadly deficient in the powers of research which, in such contests, are more effective than the most splendid gifts of genius.

Accordingly, his reply to Mr. Webster’s five long pages is very short. He only says: ‘The word [*accede*] was borrowed from him [Mr. Jefferson]. It was taken from the Kentucky

Resolutions, as well as the substance of the resolution itself. But I trust I may neutralize whatever aversion the authorship of this word may have excited in the mind of the Senator, by the introduction of another authority—that of Washington himself, who, in his speech to Congress, speaking of the admission of North Carolina into the Union, uses this very term, which was repeated by the Senate in their reply'. Having adduced these two instances, which seem to have fallen in his way, he then 'accommodates' himself to 'the strange antipathy' of Mr. Webster, 'by *striking out of the resolution* the word '*acceded*.' Better—ininitely better—we think, if he had stood by that word, and overwhelmed 'the strange antipathy' of his antagonist with such a pitiless pelting of facts, that he would have been glad to escape from the contest. If, in one word, he had stood by the constitutional language of the Fathers, and caused its enemies to blush for the ignorance and presumption of their assertions. He might easily have done so, if he had only given a few hours of diligent research to the records of history.

Thus, after the Constitution had been framed, and the mode of its ratification was under discussion in the Convention of 1787, Mr. James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, said: that he preferred 'a partial union' of the States, 'with a door open for the *accession* of the rest', rather than to see their disposition '*to confederate anew on better principles*' entirely defeated. [Madison Papers, p. 797.] Now did Mr. Wilson, to whose great influence the historian of the Constitution, Mr. Curtis, ascribes its adoption by the great State of Pennsylvania, meditate treason, when he used the word *accession*, to express the act by which it was to be adopted?

'But will the small States', asks another member of the same Convention, 'in that case, *accede* to it?' [the Constitution]. Again, Mr. Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, Mr. Webster's own State, 'was opposed to a partial *confederacy*, leaving other States to *accede* or not to *accede*, as had been intimated'. [Ibid, p. 1101.] Even Mr. Madison, 'the father of the Constitution', used this very word *accede* in the Convention of 1787, in order to denote the act of adopting 'the new form of government by the people.' [Ibid. p. 1103.] Did he mean treason, by the use of that word? Governor Randolph, who was also a member of the Convention of 1787, and who had just reported the form of ratification to be used by the State of Virginia, said, 'That the *accession* of eight States reduced our deliberations to the single question of Union or no Union.' 'If the Constitution', said Patrick Henry, in the ratifying Convention of Virginia, 'be amended, every State will *accede* to it' [Elliot's Debates, vol. iii. p. 652]. 'Does she [Virginia] gain anything from her central position', asked Mr. Grayson

in the Convention, 'by *acceding* to that paper?' [the Constitution]. [Madison Papers, p. 1099.] 'I came hither', said Mr. Innes, 'under the impression that the felicity of our country required that we should *accede* to this system' [the new Constitution]. [Elliot's Debates, vol. iii.] 'Our Constitution', says Franklin, who next to Washington was the most illustrious member of the Convention of 1787, 'is now established with eleven States, and the *accession* of a twelfth is soon expected'. [Franklin's Works, vol. v. p. 409.] Nay, Washington himself, who, watching the States as one after another adopted the new Constitution, uses the words:—'If these, with the States eastward and northward of us, should *accede* to the Federal Government', etc. [The Writings of Washington, vol. ix. p. 280.] Did Washington mean treason, by the use of this *most obnoxious* word? Thus, while the transaction was passing before their eyes, the fathers of the Constitution of the United States, with the great father of his country at their head, used the very language, in describing the adoption or ratification of the new form of government, which, in the resolution of Mr. Calhoun, is so vehemently condemned, by 'the great expounder', as 'unconstitutional language'; which had been invented, by the advocates of secession, for the vile purpose of disunion! How strange, how wonderful, that *the very word* used by the authors of the Constitution, should have become in so short a time, '*a new word*' to 'the great expounder' of their great work!

'The people of the United States,' boldly asserts Mr. Webster, 'used no such form of expression in establishing the present Government.' They did, in fact, as we have seen, use precisely this 'form of expression.' It is 'unconstitutional language', says 'the great expounder.' It is, as we have shown, the very language of the fathers of the Constitution itself; and was issued from the same mint in which that sacred instrument was stamped. It is '*a new word*,' says 'the god-like Daniel'; but, as we have seen, 'the god-like Daniel' could, when it served his purpose, speak as one having authority, and just as if he knew all about the facts of the case under consideration; although, in reality, he knew just exactly nothing.

If it were necessary, the above list of authorities might be greatly increased. We might have added, for instance, the high authority of Chief Justice Marshall himself, who, in his 'Life of Washington' [vol. v. chap iii.] notes the fact, that 'North Carolina *accedes* to the Union.' Even Mr. Justice Story is, in spite of his newly invented theory of the Constitution, a witness to the same fact. 'The Constitution', says he, in his Commentaries on the Constitution [book iii. chap. xliii.], 'has been ratified by all the States. Rhode Island did not *accede* to it, until more than a year after it had been in

operation'. So completely had the learned commentator forgotten his *new* theory of the Constitution, that it is 'not a compact' to which the States *acceded*!

Mr. Webster lays great stress on the fact, that the first resolution passed by the Convention of 1787 declared, 'That a *national government* ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislature, judiciary, and executive.' This fact only shows, at most, that when the Convention first met, it wished to establish 'a *national government*', rather than a *federal* one. But this resolution was adopted before the Convention was full, and by the vote of only six States, a minority of the whole number. After other members had arrived, and the Convention was full, the resolution in question was taken up, discussed, and *repealed*. A fraction of the Convention had, as Mr. Webster alleges, proposed the name of 'a *national government*' for their contemplated offspring; but the Convention, when filled up, refused to baptize it with that name, and *actually gave it another*. Why then resuscitate that discarded name, and place it before the reader, as Mr. Webster does, *in capital letters*? Is it because 'words are things; and things of mighty influence'?

Or why persist, as Mr. Webster always does, in calling 'the government of the United States' a *national one*? If the Convention had, after due deliberation, called it 'a *national government*', this name would have been so continually rung in our ears that we could neither have listened to the Constitution itself, nor to its history whenever these proclaimed its *federal* character. Nay, although the Convention positively refused to name it 'national government,' on the avowed ground that they would adhere to the federal system; yet has this name been eternally sounded in our ears, and the ears of the people, by the Northern school of politicians; just as if it had been finally adopted, instead of having been repudiated and rejected, as it was, by the authors of the Constitution!

In the perpetration of this grand sophism, Mr. Justice Story, as usual, preceded Mr. Webster. In his Commentaries on the Constitution, he builds ever on the name proposed by the Convention, without the slightest allusion to the fact, that said resolution was afterwards repealed, and the name changed to that of '*the Government of the United States*'! Is this to reason, or is it to deceive? Is this to build on facts, or merely on exploded names? Is this to follow the Convention in its deliberations, and *show what it has actually done*, or is it to falsify its decision?

The Convention, by a vote of six States, decided that 'a national government *ought* to be established'. But when this resolution was taken up and reconsidered, Mr. Ellsworth objected to the term '*national government*', and it was rejected.

The record says: 'The first resolution "that a national government ought to be established," being taken up, * * * Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Gorham, moves to alter it, so as to run that *the government of the United States* ought to consist', etc. This alteration [he said] would drop the word *national*, and retain the proper title, '*the United States*'. [Madison Papers, p. 908.] This motion was, after debate, unanimously adopted by the Convention. [Ibid. p. 909.] That is, they unanimously rejected the name '*national government*'; and yet both Story and Webster built an argument on this name, just as if it had been retained by them! Comment is unnecessary.

We have quoted from the *Madison Papers*. But Mr. Justice Story must have derived his information from '*Yates' Minutes*'; as the *Madison Papers* were not published until after his Commentaries were written. But there, in those very *Minutes*, we find the passage:—'Ellsworth. I propose, and therefore move, to expunge the word "*national*"; in the first resolve, and to place in the room of it, *government of the United States*, which was agreed to nem. con.' [Elliot's Debates, vol. i. Yates' Minutes.] Yet, directly in the face of this, Mr. Justice Story builds an argument on the word *national* used in 'the first resolution adopted by the Convention'! and, in order to give the more imposing effect to this grand argument, Mr. Webster prints that first resolution in CAPITAL LETTERS! Now why, we ask, did not Mr. Calhoun just knock those lying capitals into pi; as he might so easily have done with a single fillip of his finger, if he had only known the facts of the case? and, having done this, why did he not point to the reason which Mr. Ellsworth gave for his motion, namely, that 'It would be highly dangerous not to consider the Confederation as still subsisting'? How completely this would have turned the tables on Mr. Webster! How completely it would have demolished his argument in favor of the *national* character of our government, and, at the same time, set up an unanswerable argument in favor of its *federal* character!

The name actually given to the general government, has always been a thorn in the side of most Northern politicians. Thus, says the younger Story, 'The name "United States of America", is an *unfortunate one, and has, doubtless, led many minds into error*. For it may be said, if the States do not form a Confederacy, why are they called "United States"? This name is, indeed, a most unfortunate one for his theory of the Constitution, and for that of the whole school of politicians to which he belongs. But, then, as we have seen, it was deliberately chosen, by the Convention of 1787, as the right name for the work of their own hands; and that, too, for the avowed reason, that 'It would be highly dangerous not

to consider the Confederation as still subsisting'. Yet, in spite of all this, or else in ignorance of all this, the whole school of Mr. Justice Story and Mr. Webster will have it, that the Convention of 1787 designedly did away with a Confederation of States, and established 'a national government' in its place!

But the worst is yet to come. Mr. Webster was not ignorant of the fact, that the Convention of 1787 had repudiated the name, on which his grand argument is erected. As this may seem incredible to our readers, we shall lay Mr. Webster's own words before them. Having put the 'first resolution adopted by the Convention' in capital letters, he says: 'This, itself, completely negatives all idea of League, and Compact, and *Confederation*. Terms could not be chosen more fit to express an *intention* to establish a *National* Government, and to banish forever all notion of a Compact between Sovereign States'. Behold, then, by his grand argument based on the name 'a *National* Government', all notion of a Compact; or a 'Confederation', is forever banished! Now, would not every simple-minded, honest reader conclude from this, that Mr. Webster must have been ignorant of the fact, that the very foundation of his argument had been forever banished from the legislation of 1787? Would not any such reader conclude, that he must have been ignorant of the fact, that the transitory name on which his argument rested, had been swept away forever by the Convention of 1787? However incredible it may seem, Mr. Webster was not ignorant of this fact.

For, having drawn the triumphant inference, that the name in question 'completely negatives all idea of League, and Compact, and Confederation', he adds, in a most subdued tone, 'This resolution was adopted on the 30th of May, 1787. Afterwards, *the style* was altered; and, instead of being called a *National Government*, it was called the *Government of the United States*; but *the substance* of the resolution was retained, [?] and was at the head of that list of resolutions which was afterwards sent to the Committee who were to frame the instrument.' The *style* was only altered; the *substance* remained the same! Is not such a poor, miserable shift truly wonderful? He finds the dirt cut from under his feet; and yet he tells us, that makes no difference; his position is just as good as ever! The whole foundation of sand is swept from under his argument; and yet, we must believe him, that it still stands as firm as a rock.

The case is a marvellous one. It is as follows: The Convention of 1787 assembles under 'The Confederation'. If we look into its articles, we read: 'Article I. The style of this Confederacy shall be "The United States".' This is its style or name; and its government is everywhere, and by all per-

sons, called 'the government of the United States.' But great changes are looked for. The first resolution passed by the Convention declares, 'That a *national* government *ought* to be established'. Great is the jubilation over this never-to-be-forgotten event. The thing *ought* to be done; and, of course, it *is* done. 'A *national* government' *is* established; and all idea of Confederation is 'forever banished.' Mr. Justice Story flaps his wings, and crows over the glorious consummation, and inserts 'the fixed fact' in his learned Commentaries. But he says not one word about the action of the Convention, by which his great fact is unfixed, and set aside; by which, in other words, the new name, and the glorious, is exploded; and the old name—ay, *the very same old name*—'THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES'—is put in its place.

The silence of Judge Story seems to say, 'Tell it not in Gath; whisper it not in the streets of Askalon'. But Mr. Webster says, it makes no difference; the *style* only is altered, not the *substance*. Great indeed was the difference, and the jubilation, when the name was changed from 'the government of the *United States*' to 'a *national* government'; but when it was changed back again, from 'a *national* government' to 'the government of the United States'; that made just no real difference at all. The *style* only is changed, not the *substance*!

The *substance* is still the same. How could the great Daniel, we ask, be so delighted with the bare passing prospect of the new name insted of the old; and yet experience no revulsion of feeling, however slight, when he saw the old name blot out the new one forever? How he could have honestly and conscientiously spoken as he did, is more than we can possibly conceive. We fear, however, that the words of the great orator did not always correspond with the exact state of his mind. We have no doubt, indeed, that his mind was distressed, when the bright prospects kindled by the new name were blasted, and he was so suddenly thrown back, in spite of himself, on the old name—'THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES'. In the name of all that is holy, then, shall we be told that, in the opinion of the Convention itself, the plan of 'a *national* government', and not a '*federal*' one, was designed and framed by its labors? and shall the ghost of a defunct resolution be summoned from its grave, in order to convince us that the assertion is true, while the resolution, still living and animating the Constitution of 1787, is either not noticed at all, or slurred over with nonsense? even with the slaving nonsense that, after all this waste of words, there is no real difference between the dead resolution or intention to plan 'a *national* government' for '*the one people* of America', and the living resolution to form 'a *federal* government for the United States of America'. If such nonsense had fallen from the

drivelling lips of an idiot, it might have been very easily pardoned; but falling as it does from the lips of a Webster, we are utterly at a loss for language in which to unburden our heart of the feeling it inspires.

‘Though born for the universe, he narrowed his mind,
And gave up to party what was meant for mankind’.

We have more than once quoted the grand, old saying of a heathen philosopher, ‘There is nothing great on earth but man, and there is nothing great in man but mind’, not only because it is true, but also because it is so well adapted to rebuke the littleness, and meanness, and selfishness of an age degraded by materialism. But it is not more true, nor more grand, than the sentiment, that ‘There is nothing great in mind but loyalty to truth and duty’.

We had marked several other passages in the great speech of Mr. Webster, which are among the most portentous shams ever invented by the eloquence, the ingenuity, or the wit of man. We regret that the want of space precludes the possibility of exposing them in the present paper. But we must, in passing, bestow some little attention upon one of them, which is the most stupendous of all, and which reaches the very climax of bold, daring, and unscrupulous license of assertion.

‘Indeed’, says Mr. Webster, ‘if we look into all contemporary history; to the numbers of *The Federalist*; to the debates in the Conventions; to the publications of friends and foes; they all agree, that *a change had been made from a confederacy of States to a different system*; they all agree, that the Convention had formed a Constitution for *a national government*. With this result some were satisfied, and some were dissatisfied; *but all admitted that the thing had been done*. In none of these various productions and publications, did any one intimate that the new Constitution was but another compact between States in their sovereign capacity. *I do not find such an opinion advanced in a single instance*’. How completely novel, then, and how strangely heretical, are Mr. Calhoun’s views of the Constitution!

But here the first question is, How did Mr. Calhoun answer these bold, and sweeping assertions of Mr. Webster? Did he demolish them, root and branch, by quoting from ‘*The Federalist*’, from ‘the debates in the Conventions’, from ‘the publications of friends and foes’? Not a bit of it. On the contrary, he just opposes to the bold and sweeping assertion of Mr. Webster an assertion equally bold and sweeping; and then leaves the people, politicians and all, to decide between his authority and that of his great antagonist! The facts of

the case are not produced, by either party to the contest, that the people may see and judge for themselves. Hence, without one additional ray of light, they follow either Mr. Webster or Mr. Calhoun, according to their party passions, prejudices, or prepossessions. Our great complaint of Mr. Webster is, therefore, that he did so much to deceive the people; and of Mr. Calhoun, that he did so little to undeceive them. In order to show the perfect justice of both complaints, we shall first produce Mr. Calhoun's reply to the above sweeping assertion of Mr. Webster, and then give the reply of *facts* to the same assertion.

Mr. Calhoun says: 'Among other objections to the views of the Constitution for which I contend, it is said that *they are novel*. I hold this to be a mistake. The novelty is not on my side, but on that of the Senator from Massachusetts. The doctrine of consolidation which he maintains is of recent growth. It is not the doctrine of Hamilton, Ames, or of any of the distinguished federalists of the period, all of whom strenuously maintained the federative character of the Constitution, though they were accused of supporting a system of policy which would necessarily lead to consolidation'.

Now, whose views of the Constitution are *novel*, Mr. Webster's or Mr. Calhoun's? Both appeal, with equal confidence, to 'all contemporary history'; but neither shows us a single scrap of that history, which bears on their bold assertions. Let us, then, look into 'all contemporary history' for ourselves, and see whose assertions are true, those of Mr. Webster, or those of Mr. Calhoun, and whose are false.

We shall begin with the debates in the Convention that formed the Constitution. As that is the first of all authorities; so we shall give it the first place. Mr. Gouverneur Morris, one of the most celebrated members of that Convention, and one of the strongest advocates of a national government, says: 'The Constitution was a *compact*, not between individuals, but between *political societies*, not of America, but of the United States, EACH ENJOYING SOVEREIGN POWER, and of course equal rights'. [Life and Writings of Morris, vol. iii. p. 193.] Language could not be more explicit. Nor could it be more evident than it is, that Gouverneur Morris, the very author of the words, 'We the people', entertained precisely the same view of their meaning as that maintained by Mr. Calhoun and his school. This was a point, indeed made far too clear by the proceedings of the Convention of 1787 for any member of that body to entertain the shadow of a doubt in relation to it. Nor can any one read those proceedings, as they deserve to be read, without agreeing with Gouverneur Morris, that the authors of the Constitution designed it to be ratified, as in fact it was, by 'the people of the United States', not as

individuals, but as 'political societies, each enjoying *Sovereign Power*, and of course equal rights'. Or, in other words, without seeing that 'the Constitution was *a compact*', not between individuals, but 'between political societies', between *Sovereign States*.

James Madison himself, 'the father of the Constitution', and the most laborious member of the Convention of 1787, called the Constitution 'a pact' between the States; and, from that day to the end of his life, he continued to pronounce the Constitution '*a compact to which the States are the parties*'. In the Virginia ratifying Convention of 1788, in 'the numbers of *The Federalist*', in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, in the Virginia Report of 1800, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Everett of 1830, in one and all of these well-known publications and public documents, as well as in others from his pen, this chief architect of the Constitution most emphatically pronounces it '*a compact to which the States are the parties*'. In the Virginia Resolutions, for example, which he drew up for the legislature of his State, he says:—'This Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, *that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties*'. How completely, then, was the very existence of Mr. Madison, and all the great transactions in which he had borne so conspicuous a part, ignored by Mr. Webster in the bold and astounding assertion, that neither friend nor foe had ever considered the Constitution 'a compact between the States'! The venerable old man must, indeed, have felt, as he read the speech of Mr. Webster, that he was fast sinking into oblivion, and that all the great transactions of his life, and all his great publications, were being fast forgotten amid the blaze of new ideas.

Accordingly, in a letter to Mr. Webster, called forth by the speech in question, Mr. Madison once more raised his voice in favor of the *one* invariable doctrine of his life. 'It is fortunate', says he, in the letter referred to, 'when *disputed* theories can be decided by *undisputed* facts; and here the undisputed fact is, *that the Constitution was made by the people, LUT AS EMBODIED IN SEVERAL STATES, WHO WERE PARTIES TO IT*'. Most fortunate is it, indeed, when disputed theories may be tested by undisputed facts; but how unfortunate is it, when new and disputed theories begin to pass for everything, and indisputable facts for nothing! Nay, when those who cling to hitherto undisputed facts are accounted traitors, by those who, having nothing better than disputed theories to rest on, are nevertheless backed by the possession of brute force sufficient to crush their opponents and *silence the voice of truth*!

All agree, says Mr. Webster, '*The Federalist*', 'the debates in the Conventions', 'the publications of friends and foes'—all

agree, 'that a change had been made from a *confederacy* to a different system'. Now, there is James Wilson, a distinguished member of the Convention of 1787, and inferior only to Madison and Hamilton in the influence he exerted in favor of the new Constitution, who declares, that the only object aimed at by the Constitution, was to enable the States 'to *confederate* anew on better principles'; and if no more could be effected, he would agree to 'a partial *union of the States*, with a door left open for the *accession* of the rest'.

Even Alexander Hamilton, in that great authority, *The Federalist*, to which Mr. Webster so confidently appeals, and which was expressly written to explain the Constitution to the people, is directly and flatly opposed to the bold and unscrupulous assertion of 'the great expounder'. If the new Constitution should be adopted, says he, 'the Union would still be in fact and in theory, an *association of States*, or a *confederacy*'. [No. IX.] Again, in the eighteenth number of the work, Hamilton calls the new Union, '*the Confederacy*'; and he puts the word in capital letters, in order that it might not escape the attention of the most careless reader. If necessary, it might be shown by various other extracts, that Alexander Hamilton, while explaining the nature of the Constitution in *The Federalist*, styles the new Union 'a *confederacy of States*'. How, then, could Mr. Webster refer to *The Federalist* in support of the assertion, that a change had been made from a *confederacy* to a different system? Was this in his character of 'the great expounder', or in that of the great deceiver?

The appeal to *The Federalist* appears, if possible, still more wonderful, when viewed in connection with other numbers of that work. Indeed, it was objected to the new Constitution by its enemies, that it would 'make a change from a confederacy to a different system'; and this very objection is met and repelled in the pages of *The Federalist*. 'Will it be said', demands *The Federalist*, 'that the *fundamental principles* of the Confederation were not within the purview of the Convention, and ought not to have been varied? I ask, what are these principles? Do they require, that in the establishment of the Constitution, *the States should be regarded as* DISTINCT AND INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNS? They are so regarded by the Constitution proposed'. [No. XL.] Now here the position of Mr. Webster, that the new Union was *not a confederacy of States*, that it was *not made by the States 'as distinct and independent sovereigns'*, but was ordained by 'the people of the United States in the aggregate' as one nation, is directly and emphatically negatived by the very authority to which he so confidently appeals for its support! His monstrous heresy,

so far from deriving any support from *The Federalist*, is expressly and pointedly condemned by that high authority.

Nor is this all. In the preceding number of *The Federalist*, it is said, 'Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a *sovereign body*, independent of all others, and *only to be bound by its own voluntary act*'. Thus, according to *The Federalist*, the Constitution was ratified by 'each State as a *sovereign body*, independent of all others'. No such thing, says Mr. Webster, it was *not* ratified by the States at all; it was ordained by a power superior to the States, by the sovereign will of the whole people of the United States, acting as one nation; and yet he boldly appeals to *The Federalist* in support of his assertion! Why did he not quote *The Federalist*? Nay, why did he not read *The Federalist*, before he ventured to appeal to it in support of his monstrous heresy?

Again, says that highest of authorities: 'The Constitution is to be founded on the assent and ratification of the people of America; but this assent and ratification is to be given, *not as individuals comprising one nation, but as composing the distinct and independent States to which they belong*. It is to be the assent and ratification of the *several States, derived from the supreme authority in each State—the authority of the people themselves*. THE ACT, THEREFORE, ESTABLISHING THE CONSTITUTION WILL NOT BE A NATIONAL, BUT A FEDERAL ACT'. [No. XXXIX.] Not so, says Mr. Webster, the Constitution was established by a *national*, and not by a *federal* act; and yet he boldly appeals to *The Federalist* in support of his position!

The Federalist, instead of sustaining Mr. Webster's appeal not only contradicts his position as flatly as possible, but also shows it to be utterly false, by reasoning as clear and unanswerable as was ever penned. 'That it will be a *federal*, and not a *national* act', continues *The Federalist*, 'as these terms are understood by objectors, the act of the people as forming so many independent States, not as forming one aggregate nation, is obvious from this single consideration, that it is to result neither from the *majority* of the people of the Union, nor from that of a *majority* of the States. It must result from the *unanimous* assent of the several States that are parties to it, differing no otherwise from their ordinary assent than in its being expressed, not by the legislative authority, but by that of the people themselves. Were the people regarded in this transaction as forming one nation, the will of the majority of the whole people of the United States would bind the minority; and the will of the majority must be determined either by a comparison of the individual votes, or by considering the will of the majority of the States, as evidences of the will of a majority of the people of the United States.

Neither of these has been adopted. [In fact, both of these modes of ratification had been expressly rejected by the Convention.] *Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a SOVEREIGN BODY, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act.* [No. XXXIX.] Could language be more perfectly explicit in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Webster? Could logic be more perfectly irresistible in the demonstration of its falsehood? Yet, directly in the face of all this, or else in profound ignorance of all this, Mr. Webster appeals to *The Federalist* in favor of his opinion! Nay, in spite of the clear, explicit, and unanswerable words of *The Federalist*, Mr. Webster appeals to that work in order to show, as a fact then universally and 'perfectly well understood', that the Constitution was to be ratified, not by the States, nor by the people of the States, considered as sovereign bodies, but by the whole people of the United States as *one* sovereign body or nation! To show in one word, that the Union was formed, not by the States, but by the people of the United States acting as *one* sovereign body or unit! Is it not perfectly obvious, then, that 'the great expounder' does not follow, but flatly contradicts, the very work to which he appeals as the highest of all authorities; and that, too, in regard to the very greatest of all the political questions that have agitated the people of America?

Mr. Webster could not find in 'the numbers of *The Federalist*', nor in 'the debates in the Conventions', nor in 'the publications of friends or foes'; nay, he could not find anywhere, in 'all contemporary history', anything approximating to the 'new views' of Mr. Calhoun. 'In none of these various productions and publications', says he, 'did any one intimate that the new Constitution was but another compact between the States in their sovereign capacity. *I do not find such an opinion advanced in a single instance.*' Hence, after so careful, so conscientious, and so laborious a search, he feels justified in the bold assertion, that 'the Constitution is not a compact' at all, much less 'a compact between sovereign States'. '*The Constitution not a Compact between Sovereign States*' is, indeed, the title of his speech of 1833, and the great burden of all his eloquence. Yet, with no very great research, we have found, and exhibited in the preceding pages, various extracts in which 'such an opinion is advanced'. Nor was it necessary to ransack 'all contemporary history' in order to find them. *The Federalist* itself, the great political classic of America, has already furnished several such instances; and, if necessary, it might have been made to furnish many more. It teaches, as we have seen, that 'each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a SOVEREIGN BODY, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act'; and also that, in the establishment of the Constitution, the

States are '*regarded as distinct and independent SOVEREIGNS*'. [Nos. XXXIX and XL.]

But this, it may be said, does not include the term *compact*. Very well. The very number of *The Federalist*, which says that the Constitution was to be established by each State, as a sovereign body, calls that sacred instrument '*The Compact*'. Thus, according to *The Federalist*,—with which, says M. De Tocqueville, 'the statesmen of all nations ought to be familiar',—the Constitution, *The Compact*, was established by 'distinct and independent sovereigns.'

But the numbers of *The Federalist*, just quoted, were written by James Madison. Everybody knows, that he always regarded the Constitution as 'a compact between distinct and independent sovereigns.' That is, everybody at all acquainted with the political history of the United States, except Mr. Justice Story and Mr. Webster during the great struggle of 1833. A rather conspicuous instance this, one would have supposed, to be overlooked by one, whose search had been so very conscientious and laborious! But Mr. Madison did not stand alone. Alexander Hamilton, the great writer of *The Federalist*, stood with him on precisely the same ground. Of the eighty-four numbers of *The Federalist*, Hamilton wrote fifty; and, in the opinion of the North, the numbers of Hamilton surpass those of Madison far more in quality than in quantity. In the estimation of the North, indeed, Alexander Hamilton is the *one* sublime architect of the Constitution, to whom it owes 'every element of its durability and beauty'. What, then, does Hamilton say about the nature of the Constitution?

We do not wish to shock any one. We are aware, that it will be regarded by the followers of Story and Webster, as akin to sacrilege to charge Alexander Hamilton with having entertained the treasonable opinion, that the Constitution is a compact between the States; with having promulgated this fatal premise and, as they admit, justifying ground of secession. But as we have no grand establishment and machinery, like those of Messrs. Story and Webster, for the manufacture of facts and opinions for 'all contemporary history'; so we must put up with the supply of such facts and opinions, as are furnished by the records of the country. The fact is, then, that Alexander Hamilton calls the provisions of the Constitution of 1787, '*the compacts which are to embrace thirteen distinct States, in a common bond of amity and union*'; and he says, that these compacts must '*necessarily be compromises of as many dissimilar interests and inclinations*'. [*The Federalist*, No. LXXXV.] Thus, according to Hamilton, the 'thirteen distinct States' made compromises with each other,

and adopted those compromises as 'the compacts' of the new Union or Confederacy!

This is not all. On the following page, he adds:—"The moment an alteration is made in the present plan, it becomes, to the purpose of adoption, a new one, *and must undergo a new decision in each State*". Indeed, even Hamilton, though the great consolidationist of *his* day, never dreamed of any other mode of adopting the new Constitution than by '*a decision of each State*'. Hence he continues, 'To its complete establishment throughout the Union, it will therefore require the concurrence of thirteen States'. Again, he says, 'Every Constitution *for the United States* must inevitably consist of a great variety of particulars, in which thirteen *Independent States* are to be accommodated in their interests or opinions of interest. Hence the necessity of moulding and arranging all the particulars, which are to compose the whole, in such a manner as to satisfy all the parties to **THE COMPACT**'. That is to say, in such a manner as to satisfy 'the thirteen *Independent States, the parties to the compact*'.

Similar testimonies to the fact, that the States entered into 'the compact' of the Constitution, as the bond of union between them, are spread all over the pages of '*The Federalist*', 'the debates in the Conventions', 'the publications of friends and foes', yea, over 'all contemporary history.' We might fill a volume—*indeed we have filled a volume*—with similar testimonies and proofs, that Mr. Webster's theory of the Constitution, however beautiful in Northern eyes, is as hollow as it is high-sounding, as false as it seems fair. If his 'disputed theory' had been tried by 'undisputed facts', it would, like an apple of Sodom, have crumbled into dust and ashes. Why, then, did not Mr. Calhoun subject it to the test of facts? Why, on the contrary, did he, for the most part, merely oppose theory to theory, assertion to assertion, and oracle to oracle? We do not deny—nay, we assert—that Mr. Calhoun's theory was true, and that his arguments were sound. But then, in such contests, we want, not 'disputed theories', however true in themselves, but *undisputed and indisputable facts*, which compel the assent of the most unwilling, and rivet the chains of inevitable conviction on their minds. Mr. Calhoun's great argument was good, and amply sufficient for all who were already in the possession of the truth; but after all, it was not such 'an extinguisher' as to put out, forever, the false glare of Mr. Webster's rhetoric. Nothing but a shower of facts could have done this; and Mr. Calhoun had no such shower, or storm, at his command.

Never was broader, or fairer, or more tempting mark offered by an adversary, than Mr. Webster's bold appeal to 'the debates in conventions', to 'numbers of *The Federalist*', to 'the

publications of friends and foes',—in one word, to 'all contemporary history'—in favor of his theory of the Constitution. If Mr. Calhoun had only supplied himself with facts, he might have riddled, and torn to tatters, that theory, and the appeal on which it was based, and sent the fragments flying on the angry winds of heaven. He might have compelled the great lion of the North to crouch and cower at his feet. He might have poured such a resistless storm upon his head, that he would have been glad to escape from the arena of the Senate, and hide himself from the observation of men. He might have made his defeat so signal, that no Everett had ever risen to pronounce a eulogy on 'the greatest intellectual effort of his life', and no Stephens would have been needed to assure mankind that Mr. Calhoun's victory was complete. For this would have been the unanimous verdict of all men. But Mr. Calhoun spared him. He permitted his theory to exist, and his bold appeal to spread the poison of error and delusion among the people, both of the North and of the South.

His appeal to *The Federalist*, to that faithful index to 'all contemporary history', is heard; but not answered. That high authority, says Mr. Webster, proves that 'all agree, that a change had been made from a confederacy of States to a different system'; that 'the Convention had formed a Constitution for a national government'; that 'all idea of compact, and confederation, had been forever banished', and 'a national government' introduced. But there stood, all the while, the silent *Federalist*. Mr. Webster does not once quote it, or allow it to speak for itself; and Mr. Calhoun gives no echo, or voice, to its overwhelming testimony. Mr. Webster's assertion was, of course, regarded as true by all who read the debate. How could they doubt, indeed, that 'the great expounder' had *The Federalist* on his side, since the great nullifier had permitted the claim to pass without even the shadow of a contradiction?

But yet, as we have seen, *The Federalist* everywhere bears witness to the fact, that 'a Confederacy of States' was to be continued. Even the great writer of *The Federalist*, and the great consolidationist of his day, therein testifies that the new Constitution is 'A Compact', to which '*Independent States*' are the parties! Now, why did not Mr. Calhoun reveal this fact? Why did he not cause this testimony to be heard? The reason is, we are constrained to believe, just because Mr. Calhoun knew no more about the testimony of *The Federalist* than did Mr. Webster himself. It is certain, that if he knew the testimony of *The Federalist*, with respect to the great question in debate, it was his duty to himself, to his section, and to the whole country, to make it known to the world. For *The Federalist* was written, by the chief architects of the Constitution itself,

in order to explain *its nature* to the people, when they were called upon to adopt it as the bond, or compact, of 'a more perfect Union' between the States. As by his silence, Mr. Calhoun gave his countenance and support to the bold assertion of Mr. Webster, and allowed 'the great political classic of America', to be made the instrument of deception and falsehood; so the best apology that can be made for him is ignorance of that most important document of 'all contemporary history'.

It is with unfeigned sorrow, that we are constrained to offer so poor an apology for Mr. Calhoun; because of all the great public men of the country, he appears to have been the most pure in his private life, the most disinterested and patriotic in the formation of his opinions, and the most self-sacrificing and heroic in his devotion to his convictions of truth and duty. We can well understand the intense aversion and hatred, with which Mr. Calhoun's supposed treason was viewed by the ignorant multitude, under the guidance of such leaders as Story and Webster; because we ourselves once belonged to that multitude, and shared in their blind passions. But Mr. Calhoun, as we now see him in the light of history, rises above 'the madness of the hour', above all the storms of passion and prejudice, by which his real character was so long obscured to our mental vision, and shines forth the very embodiment of patriotic zeal. As he stands, during the latter part of his life, amid the driving currents of popular passion, breasting the fiercest storms of its fury, and feeling, in his great prophetic soul, the on-coming ruin of his country, he reminds one of the sublime attitude of Abdiel in *Paradise Lost*—the most hated of all men, and yet the truest, the bravest, and the grandest of all. Is it not the office of history, to relieve the character of such a man from the obloquy and scorn, which ignorance and passion have attached to his good name?

(The foregoing critique on the Great Debate was written by the late Dr. A. T. Bledsoe, Editor of the *Southern Review*.)

PART IV.

Mr. Blaine attempted to prove, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," that Slavery was more secure in 1860 than it had ever been; and he cites the statutes. If paper security had been sufficient, the Constitution, itself was enough; but when the Abolitionists were furiously denouncing the Constitution, what safety was to be hoped from statutes? Sharp's rifles to Kansas, John Brown raids, and torrents of seditious literature, were not calculated to convince the Southern men that Slavery was safer in 1860, than in 1800. Encouragement to run-away slaves, had been systematized; and Northern mobs had successfully defied the laws and the courts.

Generations of threats excited anxieties and apprehensions. When the Republican leaders circulated such campaign literature, as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and Helper's "Impending Crisis," the Southern leaders had reason to fear the natural consequences. When Mr. Blaine impliedly argued that slavery was perfectly secure in 1860, his line of reasoning signifies that the Abolitionists were not in earnest. Such an argument does them gross injustice. They *were* in earnest, intensely so. Fanaticism is not too harsh a word to apply to such men as Garrison, Phillips, Beecher, Tilton, and John Brown. I cannot understand how Mr. Blaine could convince himself that such radical leaders could take control of the Government, and *not* raise a hand against slavery.

A writer in *The Southern Review*, years ago, argued as follows:

The probability is, that Mr. Lincoln had coolly determined on a sanguinary conflict between the Northern and Southern States, as the only method of settling their political differences, immediately after his election to the Presidential office. We are led to this conclusion by the tenor of a letter which he addressed to Mr. Stephens, three months before he entered upon that office, in which, among other things, he takes occasion to say, 'that the South need entertain no apprehensions that a Republican administration would, either directly or indirectly, interfere with the slaves, or with the people of the South about their slaves,' by which declaration he probably meant nothing more than that the administration, of which he had now become the head, did not propose to incorporate emancipation into its platform, but that the relation of master and slave would remain undisturbed, and would continue as it ever had done under the Constitution. He adds, however, and his words are very significant, that 'the South thought slavery was right, and ought to be extended; while the North thought it wrong, and ought to be restricted.' His allusion was to the right of the Southern citizen to carry his slaves out of the States into the Territories of the Union, and have them protected there under the authority of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case. This decision was still a cause of dissension between the sections, and the intimation, though not directly, seems indirectly given, that 'a Republican administration' would not submit to it.

Mr. Stephens replied, that 'the people of the South entertained no fears that the administration, about to be inaugurated, would interfere, directly or indirectly, *with slavery in the States*; but that slavery had become the central idea in the platform of principles announced by the triumphant party, and had enlisted a fanatical opposition of the most dangerous character in the Northern States, of which it was impossible

to predict all the mischievous consequences.' He instanced the passage of what were called Liberty Laws in many of them, and the recent John Brown raid into Virginia, and concluded his letter by saying:

'Conciliation and harmony, in my judgment, can never be established by force. The Union was formed by the consent of sovereign, independent States. Ultimate sovereignty still resides with them separately, which can be resumed, and will be, if their safety, tranquillity, and security, in their judgment, require it. Under our system, as I view it, there is no rightful power in the General Government to coerce a State, in case any one of them should throw herself upon her reserved rights, and resume the full exercise of her sovereign powers. *Force* may perpetuate a union. That depends upon the contingencies of war. But such an union would not be the union of the Constitution. It would be nothing but a consolidated despotism.'

The italicised sentences in the above paragraph singularly foreshadow the course which events have taken since the late war. The Southern States are members of a Union 'perpetuated by force,' and the Government seems rapidly approaching the character of 'a consolidated despotism.' Mr. Lincoln did not answer Mr. Stephens' letter, and the inference, which we think justified by his silence, is that 'the Republican administration,' about to be inaugurated, would resist the decision of the highest judicial tribunal for the interpretation of the Constitution, and would appeal to the sword for the settlement of the differences that existed between the North and the South.

The same conclusion was drawn from the declaration made by Mr. Chase (appointed afterward Chief Justice of the United States by Mr. Lincoln), in a speech delivered by him at the Peace Convention at Washington, in respect to the surrender of fugitive slaves, required by a distinct clause of the Federal Constitution, and by laws passed under it in 1850, when Mr. Chase said: 'The people of the free States, who believe that slavery is wrong, cannot, and *will not*, aid in the reclamation of the slave, and the stipulation becomes a dead letter.'"

Underlying the Abolition movement was a hot strata of sectionalism. The Yankee hated the Southerner, and the Southerner hated the Yankee. The peoples and the social systems were not only different, but antagonistic. Mainly, New England was Roundhead, and the South, Cavalier. The Puritan did not love the Planter, and the Planter did not love the Puritan. Naturally, each exaggerated the bad traits of the other, and did not recognize his better qualities.

The New Englander was prone to harbor hallucinations

about manorial life in the South; and to believe that the luxury of the Planter was maintained by black men cruelly treated, underfed, chained up, at night; and chased by ferocious bloodhounds when trying to escape. It was impossible to convince such men as John Quincy Adams, Charles Sumner, and Horace Greeley that the Southern slaves fared better than Northern work-people, and that the Planter was robbed of practically all of his profits by the national system of Tariffs.

The Southern States felt that the Congressional laws had always been against them; that New England had almost seceded during the War of 1812; that the Compromise of 1833, which kept the South from seceding, had been utterly disregarded in later Tariffs; and that the States on this side of Mason and Dixon's line were little more than exploited provinces whose products enriched the North.

Consequently, the Civil War was economic, as well as political: Northern manufacturers were inflamed by the direful prospect of losing their best customers, and Wendell Phillips used this point with tremendous effect.

Mr. Blaine himself was one of the Congressmen who plunged the South into the horrors of Reconstruction, gave the ballot to a horde of savages, and endeavored to legislate them into equality with the whites; therefore his labored effort to convince posterity that the South was unnecessarily alarmed by the advent of such men as himself into power, seems positively dishonest.

After the Roman Catholics conspired against Mr. Lincoln, and murdered him, the rage of the Radicals against the seceded States became ungovernable.

No measure was thought too good for the blacks, or too bad for the whites. Our ablest leaders were outlawed, and their late slaves put in office. Such an orgy of mis-rule, official rottenness, and intolerable outrage, no great family of Caucasians ever before had to endure.

Gen. N. B. Forrest and others, had to organize the ex-Confederate soldiers into secret societies, before the insolence of the blacks could be kept within bounds. Federal troops remained in the South, like garrisons in a conquered land, until President Hayes withdrew them. It was charged in the public prints of the day—and by so well informed a man as Ex-Governor Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia—that the withdrawal of the soldiers was the result of a political bargain, between Hayes' managers and the Carolina Senators.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE, ITS ORIGIN, PURPOSE, AND APPLICATION

As stated in my *Life of Napoleon*, I consider the *Concordat* (treaty) made by him with Pope Pius VII., for the restoration of Roman Catholicism as the State religion of France, to have been the stupendous folly and fatal mistake of his career. With a stroke of his pen, he lifted from the dust and put on its feet a diabolical, reactionary system, which the Revolution had overthrown, and which had become a monstrous anachronism.

To his colossal blunder in rehabilitating this prostrate and discredited church, Napoleon owed the later entanglements which led him into a conflict with the Roman hierarchy; and so unnatural is the caste spirit of this secret organization of unmarried libertines, that Napoleon's own uncle, whom he had caused to be made Cardinal, turned against him. It was Catholic Austria that was the Great Man's undoing, and it was Austria that the Jesuits controlled, always. In Spain, it was the priest who acted as they are now doing (1916) in Canada and Ireland, inflaming the rabble laity into a murderous rage against the Pope's enemies, for at the time the Crucifix led the insurrections against Napoleon in Spain, the Emperor was at death-grips with the Papacy. Excommunicated by Rome, driven from Spain, betrayed by his Jesuit-ruled Father-in-law, the Austrian Emperor, Napoleon barely escaped with his life, as he was taken through Catholic southern France, on his way to St. Helena.

Eating his heart out upon that bleak rock, the Exile felt no keener pangs than when the conviction forced itself upon him that the *Concordat* had been his ruin.

After the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, at Waterloo, the kings, who had banded themselves together to destroy him, formed what they were pleased to call a "Holy Alliance."

To this league against liberty, the Pope was secretly a party.

The real purpose of it was, to put mankind back into the virtual ownership of a few royal families, who claimed, just as the German Emperor now claims, that they were the instruments of God, to rule the people absolutely, denying the people any voice in the making of laws and the choosing of rulers.

England, to her eternal honor, refused to be a party to the reactionary program of the pope and the kings.

The Holy Alliance made the bloodiest wars upon liberal principles.

An army was sent into Spain, (1823) to destroy all of the reform work of Napoleon, and of those Spanish Catholics who

had become tired of submitting their minds, souls, fortunes and women to the lust and greed of the priests.

Spain's American Colonies had taken advantage of the Napoleonic wars, to throw off the foreign yoke of Spain, which had borne heavily upon them for some three hundred years.

The Holy Alliance proposed to do, in Central and South America, what it had already done in Continental Europe. They proclaimed their intention of sending troops to this country, to re-establish the thrones of the foreign masters, who had so long exploited and mis-governed these American provinces.

In order that the Holy Alliance might thoroughly understand what sort of a job they were about to undertake, Mr. Canning, the English Premier, recognized the South American Republics, and President Monroe officially announced, in substance, that the Holy Alliance must not attempt to re-establish their system on this continent.

The Holy Alliance was not so fanatical as to believe that it could send an army across the ocean, in defiance of the English fleet; nor did the pope and the kings believe that North America could be conquered by European troops.

That the Pope was secretly a party to the "Holy Alliance," I insert the official copy of the Treaty, as inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, April 25, 1916:

The following is the Treaty and the Senator's prefatory statement:

I wish to put in the record the secret treaty of Verona of November 22, 1822, showing what this ancient conflict is between the rule of the few and the rule of the many. I wish to call the attention of the senate to this treaty because it is the threat of this treaty which was the basis of the Monroe doctrine. It throws a powerful white light upon the conflict between monarchical government and government by the people. The Holy Alliance under the influence of Metternich, the premier of Austria, in 1822, issued this remarkable secret document:

(American Diplomatic Code, 1778-1884, vol. 2; Elliott, p. 179.)

SECRET TREATY OF VERONA.

The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the treaty of the Holy Alliance, after having exchanged their respective credentials, have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of representative government is equally as incompatible with the monarchical principles as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of repre-

sentative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

Article 2. As it can not be doubted that the liberty of the press is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures TO SUPPRESS IT, NOT ONLY IN THEIR OWN STATES BUT ALSO IN THE REST OF EUROPE.

Article 3. Convinced that the principles of religion contribute most powerfully to keep nations in the state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare it to be their intention to sustain in their respective states, those measures which the allergy may adopt, with the aim of amellorating their own interests, so intimately connected with the preservation of the authority of the princes; and the contracting powers join in offering THEIR THANKS TO THE POPE FOR WHAT HE HAS ALREADY DONE FOR THEM, AND SOLICIT HIS CONSTANT CO-OPERATION IN THEIR VIEWS OF SUBJECTING THE NATIONS.

Article 4. The situation of Spain and Portugal unite unhappily all the circumstances to which this treaty has particular reference. The high contracting parties, in confiding France the care of putting an end to them engaged to assist her in the manner which may the least compromise them with their own people and the people of France by means of a subsidy on the part of the two empires of 20,000,000 of francs every year from the date of the signature of this treaty to the end of the war.

Article 5. In order to establish in the peninsula the order of things which existed before the revolution of Cadiz, and to insure the entire execution of the articles of the present treaty, the high contracting parties give to each other the reciprocal assurance that as long as their views are not fulfilled, rejecting all other ideas of utility or other measure to be taken, they will address themselves with the shortest possible delay to all the authorities existing in their states and to all their agents in foreign countries, with the view to establish connections tending toward the accomplishment of the objects proposed by this treaty.

Article 6. This treaty shall be renewed with such changes as new circumstances may give occasion for, either at a new congress or at the court of one of the contracting parties, as soon as the war with Spain shall be terminated.

Article 7. The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged at Paris within the space of six months.

Made at Verona the 22d of November, 1822.

For Austria: Metternich.

For France: Chateaubriand.

For Prussia: Bernstet.

For Russia: Nesselrode.

Charles Kohler has published a History of The Monroe Doctrine, and I quote the following from it:

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ANNOUNCED BY WASHINGTON.

What proved to be the foreign policy of the United States for more than one hundred years is found in Washington's Farewell Address. "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all. * * * Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. * * * Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice shall counsel. * * * It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

As late as October 21, 1823 Jefferson wrote President Monroe "our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs. America, north and south, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe." Jefferson's views coincided with practically all the prominent Americans.

Its announcement on December 2, 1823 is due to what seemed an exigency in European politics at that time which afflicted British interests materially. The Czar of Russia formed an alliance between his country, Austria, Prussia and later France and England for "mutual protection" against domestic revolutions. In congress assembled these governments about 1820 decided to assist each other in maintaining the term existing dynasties, also to support each other in the suppression of their rebellious subjects. Although lukewarm, England at first acquiesced in this "Holy Alliance" and France sent troops into Spain to suppress a rebellion against Ferdinand VII.

When George Canning succeeded Castlereagh as Prime Minister, he feared that British interests might be threatened by the alliance and finally assumed an unfriendly attitude, thereby also posing as the friend of liberty.

About 1810 the American colonies of Spain began to revolt and declare themselves free and independent, and when Canning acceded to power several Spanish-American republics had been formally recognized by Great Britain and the United States as free and independent governments. Canning drew France into an agreement with England respecting Spanish-American countries. It is believed that Canning desired a partnership with the United States in regard to Central and South America. If so, President Monroe certainly disappointed him for his famous message says nothing favorable to an alliance with England or any other country.

On the 23d day of August, 1823 Richard Rush, the American Minister to the court of St. James, wrote John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Monroe, "I yesterday received from Mr. Canning a note, headed, 'private and confidential', setting before me in a more distinct form the proposition respecting South American affairs, which he communicated in conversation on the 16th. The tone of earnestness in Mr. Canning's note and the force of some of his expressions naturally start the inference that the British Cabinet cannot be without its serious apprehensions that ambitious enterprises are meditated against the independence of the South American States. Whether by France alone I cannot say now on any authentic grounds. The private, confidential note of Mr. George Canning, Secretary of State for foreign affairs in his Brittanic Majesty's Cabinet, suggests: Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other, as do the Spanish-American colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves and beneficial for all the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?" Although Mr. Rush approved of Canning's suggestions he realized that they were of by far too much importance to give assurances off-hand and could only await the American Government's decision in the matter. He was satisfied, however, that President Monroe would approve them.

If Monroe had any leanings in any direction at all, he rather favored France. However as he, Calhoun and the other Cabinet Officers were "very much afraid that the Holy Alliance would restore all of South America to Spain," he, after due consideration, promulgated his famous doctrine.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

From his message of December 2nd, 1823.

"It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic.

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense.

With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities

of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same; which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government *de facto* as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

Speaking of our prosperity, etc. the message says: "To what then do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not then to adopt every measure which may be necessary to perpetuate them?"

Continental Europe, on the appearance of the Monroe Doctrine hesitated in its plans. Spain called a conference of the allied powers in 1824 to consider the project, but England refused to join them; after ascertaining her position in this matter, they finally abandoned it entirely.

The House of Representatives in 1826 resolved that "The people of the United States should be left free to act in any crisis in such a manner as their feelings of friendship towards those (Spanish-American) republics and as their own honor may at the time dictate."

The first appearance of the Monroe Doctrine in the in-

ternal politics of the United States was almost immediately after its promulgation, its bearing on the part this country should take in the Panama Congress of the South and Central American States in 1826 being much discussed. The United States was invited to send delegates to this congress and did so; the controversy over the wisdom of this action lasted for some years, and was an unusually ardent one, but resulted practically in nothing.

THE FRENCH IN MEXICO.

Secretary of State Seward remonstrated with Great Britain as to her premeditated violations of the Monroe Doctrine in the following language: "The Government of the United States will maintain and insist with all the decision and energy which are compatible with our existing neutrality, that the Republican system which is accepted by any one of those South American States shall not wantonly be assailed, and that it shall not be subverted as an end of a lawful war by European powers. But beyond this position, the United States Government will not go nor will it consider itself hereby bound to take part in wars in which a South American Republic may enter with a European sovereign, when the object of the latter is not the establishment in place of a subverted republic, of a monarchy under a European Prince."

The pretext that Napoleon found to invade Mexico was certain debts alleged to be due citizens of his country.

England and Spain had claims also. A joint expedition was arranged to menace Mexico. The joint expedition consisted of 81 vessels, carrying 1,611 guns and 27,911 sailors and troops. It reached Vera Cruz in December 1861. In the early part of 1862 England and Spain being remonstrated with by the United States and not wishing to act as a tail to the French political kite, arranged with Mexico to withdraw their forces which was done in the following April.

Left alone France reinforced her army notwithstanding the protest of the United States and placed it under the command of General Forney. The undertaking seemed easy to Napoleon. His instructions to Forney were simply to "do it quickly and well." If his project had succeeded it certainly would have been the greatest of his reign. But Mexico resisted heroically for more than four years.

This expedition cost France altogether about forty million dollars. Being intimidated by the French forces, Mexico was made to ratify the election of Maximilian as hereditary emperor. With the moral assistance of the United States the Mexican war party constantly opposed the Maximilian empire.

In 1866 its civil war being ended the American Government demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico, as stated by President Johnson in his message to Congress.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S ANNUAL MESSAGE, DECEMBER 1866.

"In the month of April last, as Congress is aware, a friendly arrangement was made between the Emperor of France and the President of the United States for the withdrawal from Mexico of the French military forces. This withdrawal was to be effected in three detachments, the first of which it was understood, would leave Mexico in November, now past, the second in March next, and the third and last in November, 1867.

Immediately upon the completion of the evacuation, the French Government was to assume the same attitude of non-intervention in regard to Mexico as is held by the Government of the United States. Repeated assurances have been given by the Emperor since that agreement that he would complete the promised evacuation within the period mentioned or sooner.

It was reasonably expected that the proceedings thus contemplated would produce a crisis of great political interest in the Republic of Mexico. The newly appointed minister of the United States, Mr. Campbell, was therefore sent forward on the 9th day of November last to assume his proper functions as minister plenipotentiary of the United States to that country. It was also thought expedient that he should be attended in the vicinity of Mexico by the Lieutenant-General of the army of the United States with the view of obtaining such information as might be important to determine the course to be pursued by the United States in re-establishing and maintaining necessary and proper intercourse with the Republic of Mexico. Deeply interested in the cause of liberty and humanity, it seemed an obvious duty on our part to exercise whatever influence we possessed for the restoration and permanent establishment in that country of a domestic and Republican form of Government.

Such was the condition of our affairs in regard to Mexico, when, on the 22d day of November last, official information was received from Paris that the Emperor of France had some time before decided not to withdraw a detachment of his forces in the month of November past, according to engagement, but that this decision was made with the purpose of withdrawing the whole of those forces in the ensuing spring. Of this determination however, the United States had not received any notice or intimation, and so soon as the information was received by the Government, care was taken to make known its dissent to the Emperor of France.

I cannot forego the hope that France will consider the subject and adopt some resolution in regard to the evacuation of Mexico which will conform as nearly as practicable with the existing engagement and thus meet the just expectations of the

United States. It is believed that with the evacuation of Mexico by the expeditionary forces no subject for serious differences between France and the United States would remain. The expressions of the Emperor and people of France warrant a hope that the traditional friendship between the two countries might in that case be renewed and permanently restored."

Thus diplomatically did the President state the situation. Johnson's remonstrance to Napoleon backed up by General Sheridan on the Rio Grande, brought Napoleon to a realization of the situation. France, of course, seeing that further resistance to the United States would result in serious complications, acquiesced, and the Mexican Republic rose on the ashes of the Maximilian Empire."

Mr. Kohler did not give the true reasons which prompted France to aid an *Austrian* prince, in his ambition to become Emperor of Mexico.

Napoleon III. owed his successful campaign against the second French Republic to the Jesuits and the Pope. He was never able to assert his independence of these clerical supporters for any length of time. Through his bigoted, narrow-minded Spanish wife, they ruled him. They were the conspirators who plotted to regain the Church's confiscated wealth, and its lost political despotism, in Mexico. Maximilian was to be a puppet in their hands, and the army of Catholic France was to set up this dummy on the imperial throne.

It was not because Mexico was in debt to Frenchmen, that Napoleon III. intervened and attempted to give her an Austrian emperor. To the collection of debts, a change of Mexico's government was not essential. Obviously to all, the purpose was wholly different and more sinister.

In France, the Jesuits had used Napoleon and his dynastic ambition to overthrow one Republic and re-enthroned the Roman Church: in Mexico, they would use him to destroy *another* Republic, subvert *another* Constitution, and re-enthroned the Roman Church, in *another* province it had lost.

JUAREZ was the Republican President to be deposed and shot, and the Constitution of 1857 was the republican creed to be annulled.

THE FAMOUS MEXICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

- (1) It denounced land-monopoly, and declared that occupation and working of the soil were requisites of a good title.
- (2) All men are born free.
- (3) All education is free, and must be universal and non-sectarian.
- (4) Choice of vocation is free.
- (5) No voluntary servitude shall be tolerated, no matter

what the contract; and the vows of Romanist orders are declared null, because against public-policy.

(6) No man shall be prosecuted for publishing his opinions, unless he attacks public morality, public order, or the rights of a citizen.

(7) Liberty of the press shall be inviolable.

Other articles guarantee the right of petition, of assembly, of keeping and carrying arms, and of immigration and emigration: titles of nobility are prohibited: dwellings are protected from intrusion, save where a warrant has been sworn out; imprisonment for debt is forbidden.

Court fees are totally abolished and justice made free.

(27) The law of Eminent Domain is made the same as in the United States; and churches are disqualified to own any real estate, except the lots the church-building occupies.

(28) Separation of Church and State decreed.

THE POPE DAMNS THE CONSTITUTION.

The rage which this glorious Constitution aroused in Papal circles, American and European, can easily be imagined. The Pope raved in fury, as Innocent III. had raved against King John's rebellious barons; and Pius IX. launched the curse of Rome against the Mexican charter of liberty, just as Pope Innocent had launched it against our *Magna Charta*.

The Vicar of Christ preached a venomous crusade against "the enemies of the Lord," and called upon Catholic France, Spain, and Austria "to intervene." Mexico must be "pacified," and flung back into the bloody grip of ravenous Rome.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S WAY.

Torn and distracted by the 50-year fight of factions, Mexico was burdened with a prodigious public debt, owned in Great Britain, France, and Spain. When, in 1861, Benito Juarez became the constitutional President, the priests had a stronger case than at other crises, because Juarez had not only swept away the Romanist brothels, (the convents and monasteries) and confiscated the stupendous, ill-gotten wealth of the Church, but he had frankly told the foreign ministers of the European Powers that he would not be able, for two years, to pay the interest on the debt.

This touched the pocket nerve of England, and even Queen Victoria's name was signed to the document which pledged France and Spain to intervention.

President Lincoln was invited to unite with the intervenors. He promptly declared that Mexican independence should be maintained.

President Lincoln went further: *He offered to lend Mex-*

ico the amount necessary to protect her credit, and he proposed that the United States loan should be for a term of five years, at 3 per cent. interest.

As security, Mexico would give to the United States Government a mortgage on her public lands.

(See page 38, "The Mexican People," by De Lara and Pinchon: quoting Secretary Seward's official dispatches.)

To the United States Minister in Paris, Seward wrote: "*The United States has neither the right nor the disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico.*"

THE COMING OF MAXMILLIAN.

When the Pope, Pius IX, and the Spanish high-priests finally overcame the reluctance of the Archduke Maximilian, by falsely assuring him that the Mexicans craved an emperor of the Hapsburg House, *the Papacy was deliberately attempting to exercise its canonical law.*

By the terms of the law of the Roman Church, the Pope can pull down and set up thrones, governments, princes and powers; and this law of popery had often been enforced in Europe, with hideous violence and bloodshed.

Maximilian came, backed by the arms of Jesuit-ruled France, and the Empire was proclaimed. All reforms were abolished, and Clericalism again made supreme. Secular schools were closed, priests collected their mistresses again into convents, and the good old game of gathering the ducats went merrily on.

Juarez fled to the mountains unconquered, but unable to check the French. In the meantime, our Civil War kept the United States Government arduously employed. In 1864, the wife of Napoleon III. could no longer carry out the instructions of her Jesuit confessor; her husband realized that the continued presence of his army in Mexico meant a clash with Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. Napoleon III. therefore signed an agreement to withdraw his troops.

Juarez had been gaining strength, with the help of General Grant, who had secretly supplied the Mexicans with army muskets, rifles, and ammunition. Finally, the French left Maximilian to his fate, after imploring him to leave the country under their protection.

Lured into Mexico by the Pope and the priests, Maximilian was abandoned by them, in his hour of trial. Pius IX. coldly repulsed the Empress Carlotta, when she went to the Vatican, and begged the "Holy Father" for permission to use some of the vast wealth of the Mexican church, in defence of Maximilian's Catholic empire.

(The poor woman lost her mind when the Pope rejected her plea: she lives, yet, melancholy mad.)

Maximilian, defeated by the Juarez forces, was shot, in 1867, under the law he had signed two years before, and under which many a Mexican patriot had been shot, for the crime of wanting his country independent of foreign rule.

Juarez had completely defeated the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Spanish high-priests; and under his firm guidance Mexico began to prosper.

THE AMERICAN PARTY, NICKNAMED, THE KNOW NOTHINGS.

In 1852, there began to be formed an organization to resist the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church. Growing rapidly in strength, the new party carried several States in the elections of 1854. In 1856 it nominated Millard Fillmore for President, elected eight governors of States, gained a vote of eight in the Electoral College, and 874,534 voters at the polls. In 1860, the Slavery issue caused it to lose, and the Civil War closed its existence.

Its sudden advent and strength startled the old-line politicians, and they naturally antagonized it. In the South, Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, were its most powerful opponents. Reading at this time the speeches which those statesmen made against Know Nothings, one is amazed at their certainty that popery could never again endanger our hard-won Civil and Religious liberties.

They were like Dr. Sam Johnson, the sage of the most intellectual men of his day, the day of Edmund Burke, Oliver Goldsmith, Charles Fox, William Pitt, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. The Jesuits were at work to have Roman Catholics restored to all the privileges they had lost by repeated treacheries, treasons, and massacres. In certain quarters, there was a decided reluctance to again place the Roman Church where it could betray the State, cause changes of government, and plunge Scotland, Ireland, and England in bloody civil strife, Dr. Johnson pooh-poohed these apprehensions, and said that those who cried "Popery!" at that time, would have cried "Fire!" in the time of the Deluge.

England had cast out Romanist rule, and had nothing more to fear; and those who thought differently were ridiculous. So Dr. Johnson believed: so Mr. Pitt believed; consequently, the priests were restored to all the advantages their treasonable conduct had forfeited. In our own day, we can see how mistaken were Dr. Johnson, Mr. Pitt and the other statesmen who were so ready to once more give Rome the opportunity to play her same old game. If England fails in this European

War, her calamity will be due to the priests, who encourage treason in England, lead it in Ireland, preach it in Canada, and give England's foes the invaluable aid of the spy in England's camp, the dynamiter in her fortress.

Messrs. Stephens and Wise were as honestly mistaken in their day. They could not foresee the increase of Catholic immigration, to more than half a million a year; nor could they foresee that this vast Romanist influx would go hand in hand with the prodigious growth of corporate wealth, as a logical result of the class-laws enacted during the Civil War. Cheap labor, is the demand: Catholic Southern Europe, is the supply: it has revolutionized conditions morally, industrially, politically, and religiously.

If Messrs. Wise and Stephens had been told, by a radiant angel from the skies, that the years 1912 and 1916 would see Rome and her secret societies in full control of the greater part of the governmental machinery in this country, those two Whig-Democratic leaders would have sworn that the heavenly prophet was an escaped lunatic, or an optical delusion.

AMERICAN PLATFORMS.

Platform of 1855.

1. The acknowledgement of that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides over the Councils of Nations—who conducts the affairs of men, and who, in every step by which we have advanced to the character of an independent nation, has distinguished us by some token of Providential agency.

2. The cultivation and development of a sentiment of profoundly intense American feeling; of passionate attachment to our country, its history and its institutions; of admiration for the purer days of our national existence; of veneration for the heroism that precipitated our Revolution, and of emulation of the virtue, wisdom, and patriotism that framed our Constitution, and first successfully applied its provisions.

3. The maintenance of the union of these United States, as the paramount political good; or, to use the language of Washington, "the primary object of patriotic desire." And hence—

First. Opposition to all attempts to weaken or subvert it.

Second. Uncompromising antagonism to every principle of policy that endangers it.

Third. The advocacy of an equitable adjustment of all political differences which threaten its integrity or perpetuity.

Fourth. The suppression of all tendencies to political division, founded on "geographical discriminations, or on the be-

lief that there is a real difference of interests and views" between the various sections of the Union.

Fifth. The full recognition of the rights of the several States, as expressed and reserved in the Constitution; and a careful avoidance by the general government, of all interference with their rights by legislative or executive action.

4. Obedience to the Constitution of these United States as the supreme law of the land, sacredly obligatory upon all its parts and members; and steadfast resistance to the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. Avowing that in all doubtful or disputed points it may only be legally ascertained and expounded by the judicial power of the United States.

First. A habit of reverential obedience to the laws, whether national, state, or municipal, until they are repealed or declared unconstitutional by the proper authority.

Second. A tender and sacred regard for those acts of statesmanship, which are to be contradistinguished from acts of ordinary legislation, by the fact of their being of the nature of compacts and agreements; and so, to be considered a fixed and settled national policy.

5. A radical revision and modification of the laws regulating immigration, and the settlement of immigrants—offering the honest immigrant, who, from love of liberty or hatred of oppression, seeks an asylum in the United States, a friendly reception and protection, but unqualifiedly condemning the transmission to our shores of felons and paupers.

6. The essential modification of the naturalization laws.

The repeal by the legislatures of the respective States, of all state laws allowing foreigners not naturalized to vote. The repeal, without retrospective operation, of all acts of Congress making grants of land to unnaturalized foreigners, and allowing them to vote in the territories.

7. Hostility to the corrupt means by which the leaders of party have hitherto forced upon us our rulers and our political creeds.

Implacable enmity against the present demoralizing system of rewards for political subserviency, and of punishments for political independence.

Disgust for the wild hunt after office which characterizes the age.

These on the one hand. On the other—

Imitation of the practice of the purer days of the republic; and admiration of the maxim that "office should seek the man, and not man the office," and of the rule that the just mode of ascertaining fitness for office is the capability, the faithfulness, and the honesty of the incumbent candidate.

8. Resistance to the aggressive policy and corrupting tend-

encies of the Roman Catholic Church in our country by the advancement to all political stations—executive, legislative, judicial, or diplomatic—of those only who do not hold civil allegiance, directly or indirectly, to any foreign power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and who are Americans by birth, education, and training—thus fulfilling the maxim, “Americans only shall govern America.”

The protection of all citizens in the legal and proper exercise of their civil and religious rights and privileges; the maintenance of the right of every man to the full, unrestrained, and peaceful enjoyment of his own religious opinions and worship, and a jealous resistance of all attempts by any sect, denomination, or church, to obtain an ascendancy over any other in the state, by means of any special privilege or exemption, by any political combination of its members, or by a division of their civil allegiance with any foreign power, potentate, or ecclesiastic.

9. The reformation of the character of our National Legislature, by elevating to that dignified and responsible position men of higher qualifications, purer morals, and more unselfish patriotism.

10. The restriction of executive patronage—especially in the matter of appointments to office—so far as it may be permitted by the Constitution, and consistent with the public good.

11. The education of the youth of our country in schools provided by the state; which schools shall be common to all, without distinction of creed or party, and free from any influence or direction of a denominational or partisan character.

And, inasmuch as Christianity, by the constitutions of nearly all the states: by the decisions of the most eminent judicial authorities, and by the consent of the people of America, is considered an element of our political system, and as the Holy Bible is at once the source of Christianity, and the depository and fountain of all civil and religious freedom, we oppose every attempt to exclude it from the schools thus established in the states.

12. The American party, having arisen upon the ruins, and in spite of the opposition of the Whig and Democratic parties, cannot be held in any manner responsible for the obnoxious acts of violated pledges of either. And the systematic agitation of the slavery question by those parties having elevated sectional hostility into a positive element of political power, and brought our institutions into peril, it has, therefore, become the imperative duty of the American party to interpose, for the purpose of giving peace to the country and perpetuity to the Union. And as experience has shown it impossible to reconcile opinions so extreme as those which separate the disputants, and as there can be no dishonor in sub-

mitting to the laws, the National Council has deemed it the best guarantee of common justice and of future peace, to abide by and maintain the existing laws upon the subject of slavery, as a final and conclusive settlement of that subject, in fact and in substance.

And, regarding it the highest duty to avow their opinions upon a subject so important in distinct and unequivocal terms, it is hereby declared as the sense of this National Council, that Congress possesses no power, under the Constitution, to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the states, where it does or may exist, or to exclude any state from admission into the Union because its constitution does or does not recognise the institution of slavery as a part of its social system; and expressly pretermittng any expression of opinion upon the power of Congress to establish or prohibit slavery in any territory, it is the sense of the National Council that Congress ought not to legislate upon the subject of slavery within the territory of the United States, and that any interference by Congress with slavery as it exists in the District of Columbia, would be a violation of the spirit and intention of the compact by which the state of Maryland ceded the District to the United States, and a breach of the national faith.

13. The policy of the government of the United States, in its relations with foreign governments, is to exact justice from the strongest, and do justice to the weakest; restraining, by all the power of the government, all its citizens from interference with the internal concerns of nations with whom we are at peace.

14. This National Council declares that all the principles of the order shall be henceforth everywhere openly avowed; and that each member shall be at liberty to make known the existence of the order, and the fact that he himself is a member; and it recommends that there be no concealment of the places of meeting of subordinate councils.

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY, ADOPTED AT THE SESSION
OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, FEBRUARY 21, 1856.

An humble acknowledgement to the Supreme Being, for his protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful Revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the union of these states.

2d. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

3d. Americans must rule America, and to this end, native-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, and muni-

cial offices, or government employment, in preference to all others: nevertheless.

4th. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

5th. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, or who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws as issues of political action.

6th. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will, between the citizens of the several states, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7th. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress. Provided always, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said territory or States.

8th. An enforcement of the principle that no State or territory ought to admit others than citizens of the United States to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office.

9th. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not hereinbefore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers, and persons convicted of crime, from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10th. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith, or worship, and no test oaths for office.

11th. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12th. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13th. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" by designation and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado towards the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to unnaturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14th. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principle hereinbefore stated.

15th. That each State-council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees, and institute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations for fellowship and admission into the party.

16th. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

MADISON LETTERS.

DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY.

The contents under this caption contain the material portions of eleven or twelve letters, written over the signature of "Madison," in vindication of the American party. The editor has examined carefully all the defences of the American organization, and considering this the most able of them all, written, it is said, by a distinguished citizen of Virginia, he yields it a space in this work.

No. 1.

The vital principle of the American party is *Americanism*—developing itself in a deep-rooted attachment to our own country—its Constitution, its Union, and its laws—to American men, and American measures, and American interests—or, in other words, a fervent patronism—which, rejecting the transcendental philanthropy of abolitionists, and that kindred batch of wild enthusiasts, who would seek to embroil us with foreign countries, in righting the wrongs of Ireland, or

Hungary, or Cuba—would guard with vestal vigilance American institutions and American interests against the baneful effects of foreign influence.

No. 2.

I closed my first number by stating what I conceived to be the vital principle of the American party—the principle which, like the main spring of a watch, imparts activity to its whole machinery.

Let us now consider what are the measures and policy which these Americans propose to adopt, to give practical efficiency to this great principle.—There is, doubtless, among the members of that party, as among the members of other parties, much difference of opinion in regard to matters of detail; and mutual forbearance and concession must and will be practiced in giving shape to their measures. No one can, therefore, tell with certainty what form they may ultimately assume.

For the present, I will refer to the action of the National Council as the most authentic exposition of the opinions of the party. Its creed, as expressed by that body, is embraced in the following propositions:

2d. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American independence.

3d. Americans must rule America, and to this end, native-born citizens should be selected for all state, federal, and municipal offices or government employment, in preference to all others; nevertheless,

4th. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but,

5th. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognises any allegiance or obligation, of any description, to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognise the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6th. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will, between the citizens of the several States, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual states, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7th. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union, whenever they have the requisite population for one representative in Congress.—Provided always, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said territory or State.

8th. An enforcement of the principle that no State or territory ought to admit others than citizens of the United States to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office.

9th. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not hereinbefore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers, and persons convicted of crime, from landing upon our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10th. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith, or worship, and no test oaths for office.

11th. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12th. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

These propositions may be classed, for greater perspicuity, under three heads.

I. Those that relate to reforms in the naturalization laws which require legislation.

II. Those that relate to the appointment and election of officers, which are purely ministerial.

III. Those that refer to the general policy of the party in the management of the government, which appeal both to the legislative and executive departments.

I intend to discuss these subjects in the order in which they are stated.

It is proposed to modify the naturalization laws in four particulars:

1. To make them prescribe uniform rules of naturalization throughout all the states and territories.

2. To exclude convicts and paupers from the country.

3. To extend the period of residence of the applicant for naturalization, so that he may have time to understand our

language and become acquainted with our laws and institutions, before he is intrusted with the right to participate in their administration:

4. To guard against fraudulent abuses of the right of naturalization.

This provision has repeatedly been the subject of judicial consideration and interpretation, and although the opinion was at one time expressed by the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, that the power was concurrent in the state and federal governments, that opinion has been overruled, and it is now held that the exclusive power is in Congress. The remarks of C. J. Taney are so clear, not only in regard to the power, but also as to the policy of exercising it, that I readily adopt his argument, as far more satisfactory than any I could offer. He says:

"It cannot be necessary to say anything upon the article of the Constitution which gives to Congress the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization. The motive and object of this provision are too plain to be misunderstood. Under the Constitution of the United States, citizens of each state are entitled to the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states, and no state would be willing that another should determine for it, what foreigner should become one of its citizens, and be entitled to hold lands and vote at its elections. For without this provision, any one state could have given the right of citizenship in every other state; and as every citizen of a state is also a citizen of the United States, a single State, without this provision, might have given to any number of foreigners it pleased, the right to all the privileges of citizenship in commerce, trade, and navigation, although they did not even reside among us.

"The nature of our institutions under the federal government, made it a matter of absolute necessity that this power should be confided to the government of the Union, where all the states were represented, and where all had a voice; a necessity so obvious, that no statesman could have overlooked it. The article has nothing to do with the admission or rejection of aliens, nor with immigration, but with the rights of citizenship. Its sole object was to prevent one State from forcing upon all the others, and upon the general government, persons as citizens, whom they were unwilling to admit as such."

2. It is proposed to exclude by State and federal authority, convicts and paupers from landing on our shores, to corrupt the morals of citizens, to plunder our property, to fill our penitentiaries and alms-houses, and to burden our people with taxation for their support. This is no new policy, and it will at once commend itself to the favorable regard of all reflecting men. It is an evil which attracted the attention of the found-

ers of the republic at an early day, and has from time to time been pressed upon the attention of the government, but thus far no adequate measures of prevention have been adopted.

On the 16th of September, 1788, the Continental Congress, then about to close its labors, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that it be, and it hereby is recommended to the several States to pass proper laws to prevent the transportation of convicted malefactors from foreign countries into the United States."—*Journal*, page 867.

On the 13th November, 1788, Virginia did pass such a law imposing a penalty of £50 on masters of vessels who should land convicts in this State.

In 1836, the matter was brought to the attention of Congress by Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, who made a long and able speech to the Senate, on presenting certain resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts on the subject.

In 1838, Mr. Van Buren, in reply to a call of the House, sent a message to Congress, accompanied by many documents. A bill was reported to correct the evil, but amidst the press of business it was overlooked—See *Congressional Globe* 1837-'38, page 489, and 1838-'39, page 168.

In 1845, Mr. Berrien made an elaborate report on the subject, accompanied by a great mass of testimony establishing in the most conclusive manner the certainty and magnitude of the evil.—See *Sen. Doc.* 173, 28th Cong. No final action, however, was taken.

In 1847, Mr. Buchanan, as Secretary of State, adopted measures to obtain information on the subject, and a report was made by Mr. A. D. Mann, on the 13th September, 1847.

On 1st January, 1855, Mayor Wood, of New York, addressed a strong letter to President Pierce, invoking his aid. He says: "It has long been the practice of many governments on the continent of Europe to get rid of paupers and convicts by sending them to this country, and most generally to this port, (N. Y.) The increase of crime here can be traced to this cause, rather than to defect in criminal laws or their administration. An examination of the criminal and pauper records, shows conclusively that it is but a small proportion of these unfortunates who are natives of this country. One of the very heaviest burdens that we bear, is the support of these people, even when considering the direct cost, but when estimating the evil influence on society, and the contaminating effect upon all who come within the range of their depraved minds, it becomes a matter exceedingly serious and demanding immediate and complete eradication."*

*In confirmation of Mayor Wood's statement, I refer to the following facts, derived from the census tables of 1850:

~~number~~ number of criminals in the United States during the pre-

No. 3.

The boon of citizenship is one of the highest privileges which any country can bestow on the subjects or citizens of another. It carries with it rights and duties of the gravest character. It imposes on the person naturalized the obligation of obedience to the laws, and it confers on him the right to protection, in his person and property, by the whole power of the government. It is a privilege which, in most countries, both ancient and modern, was and is conferred with great caution. Among the Romans it was a mark of great distinction, prized as of the highest value; and the simple announcement by an individual, "I am a Roman citizen!" was a passport to respect throughout the world. In our country this privilege has been granted more freely than in any other, and I think there is a growing conviction in the public mind that it has been rendered too cheap. I have had neither the time nor means to make a complete investigation of the subject of naturalization by the colonies and States, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution. But I will furnish a few striking incidents.

The 42d section of the constitution of New York, adopted in 1777, conferred power on the legislature of that State to naturalize foreigners, but with the following restriction.

"Provided, all such persons so to be by them naturalized, as being born in parts beyond sea, and out of the United States of America shall come to settle in, and become subjects of this State, shall take an oath of allegiance to this state, and abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate, and state, in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil." See Kent Com. v. 2, p. 73.

From this clause it will be seen that New York, at that early day, went a bow-shot beyond the American party—she requiring a renunciation of ecclesiastical and civil allegiance, whilst the Americans demand only a renunciation of civil or temporal allegiance.

ceeding year was 26,679—of these 12,988 were natives and 13,691 were foreigners.

The following is a table showing the ratio in four of the Northern states—

Massachusetts.		New York.	
Native criminals	3,366	Native criminals	3,962
Foreign do.	3,884	Foreign do.	6,317
New Jersey.		Pennsylvania.	
Native criminals	346	Native criminals	564
Foreign do.	257	Foreign do.	293

In the free states there were 10,822 native criminals and 12,988 foreign.

In the slave states there were 2,166 native criminals and 1,902 foreign.

By act of 1779, Maryland required the applicant for naturalization to subscribe a declaration of his belief in the Christian religion, and to take, repeat, and subscribe an oath of fidelity, and that "I do not hold myself bound to yield allegiance or obedience to any king or prince, or any state or government."

The first law of the United States on this subject of naturalization, was approved 26th March, 1790. To bill was without any opposition in either House of Congress, but a number of members availed themselves of the opportunity to express sentiments which are almost identical with those of the American party of the present day.

James Jackson of Ga. said:

"He conceived the present subject to be of high importance to the respectability and character of the American name; the veneration he had for, and the attachment he had to this country, made him extremely anxious to preserve its good fame from injury. He hoped to see the title of a citizen of America as highly venerated and respected as a citizen of old Rome. I am clearly of opinion that rather than have the common class of vagrants, paupers, and outcasts of Europe, that we had better be as we are, and trust to the natural increase of our population for inhabitants. If the motion made by the gentleman from South Carolina should obtain, such people will find an easy admission indeed to the rights of citizenship; much too easy for the interests of the people of America. Nay, sir, the terms required by the bill on the table are, in my mind, too easy. I think before a man is admitted to enjoy the high and inestimable privilege of a citizen of America, that something more than a mere residence among us is necessary. I think he ought to pass some time in a state of probation, and at the end of the time be able to bring testimonials of a proper and decent behavior. No man, who would be a credit to the community, would think such terms difficult or indelicate; if bad men should be dissatisfied on this account, and should decline to immigrate, the regulation will have a beneficial effect, for we had better keep such out of the country than admit them into it."

Theodore Sedgwick of Mass. in the same debate said:

"He was against the indiscriminate admission of foreigners to the highest rights of human nature, upon terms so incompetent to secure the society from being overrun by the offcasts of Europe; besides, the policy of settling the vacant territory by immigration is of a doubtful nature."

The citizens of America preferred this country, because it is to be preferred; the like principle he wished might be held by every man who came from Europe to reside here; but there were at least some grounds to fear the contrary; their sensa-

tions, impregnated with prejudices of education, acquired under monarchical and aristocratical governments, may deprive them of that wish for pure republicanism, which is necessary, in order to taste its beneficence with that magnitude which we feel on the occasion. Some kind of probation, as it is termed, is absolutely necessary to enable them to feel and be sensible of the blessing—without that probation, we should be sorry to see them exercise a right which we have so gloriously struggled to attain.”

Michael J. Stone of Md. said:

“A foreigner, who comes here, is not desirous of interfering immediately with our politics, nor is it proper that he should. His immigration is governed by a different principle: he is desirous of obtaining and holding property. I should have no objection to his doing this from the first moment he sets his foot on the shore in America; but it appears to me that we ought to be cautious how we admit foreigners to the other privileges of citizenship, and that for a reason not yet mentioned; perhaps it may allude to the next generation more than to this; the present inhabitants were most of them here when we were engaged in a long and hazardous war. They have been active in rearing up the present government, and feel, perhaps, a laudable vanity in having effected what its most sanguine friends hardly dared to contemplate. There is no danger of these people losing what they so greatly esteem; but the admission of foreigners to all places of government may tincture the system with the dregs of their former habits, and corrupt what we believe the most pure of human institutions.”

Here we have the principle of the American party, on this subject, clearly expounded by patriots of the earlier and better days of the republic. The act of 1790 was very short and simple in its provisions. The substance of it is embraced in the clause which enacts,

“That any alien, being a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof, on application to any common law court of record in any one of the States wherein he shall have resided for the term of one year at least, and making proof to the satisfaction of such court that he is a person of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by law to support the Constitution of the United States, which oath or affirmation such court shall administer.”

This act was passed at a time when the population of the United States was but little more than three millions, scattered mainly along the sea coasts, when we had boundless wastes of unsettled territory comparatively unexplored, and

when along our whole western frontier we were exposed to the incursions of savage enemies, who required a strong force to keep them in check. There was then every motive to extend inducements to foreigners to emigrate to this country, to strengthen us against foreign and domestic enemies, and to subdue and bring into cultivation our wild and unsettled domain. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the law was so loosely drawn as not even to require a renunciation by the applicant of his allegiance to his native sovereign.

In 1795, a much more stringent naturalization law was passed, which required the application to make, 1st. A declaration, three years before his admission, that it was his purpose to become a citizen—and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, whereof such alien may at that time be a citizen or subject. 2d. He was required, when admitted, to take an oath "that he has resided within the United States five years at least," and one year within the state or territory in which he applied—and the court was to be satisfied of the truth of this declaration—and he was required further to swear "to support the Constitution of the United States, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatsoever, and particularly by name the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, whereof he was before a citizen or subject."

In the progress of the discussion of this bill, many sound American sentiments were expressed, which precisely accord with the sentiments of the American party of the present day.

Samuel Dexter, jun., of Mass. led off in the debate, expressed himself opposed "to the facility with which, under the existing laws, aliens may acquire citizenship." He moved to strike out two years, as provided in the law of 1790.

John Page of Va., although in general very friendly to naturalization, said: "He approved the design of the mover, because he thought nothing more desirable than to see good order, public virtue, and true morality constituting the character of citizens of the United States, for without morality, and indeed a general sense of religion, a republican government cannot flourish, nay, cannot long exist, since, without them, disorders will arise which the strong arm of powerful governments can alone correct or retrieve."

Mr. Dexter said:

"America, if her political institutions should on experience be found to be wisely adjusted, and she shall improve her national advantages, had opened to her view a more rich and glorious prospect than ever was presented to man. She had chosen for herself a government which left to the citizens as great a portion of freedom as was consistent with a social com-

pact. All believed the preservation of this government in its purity indispensable to the continuance of our happiness. The foundation on which it rested was general intelligence and public virtue; in other words, wisdom to discern, and patriotism to pursue the general good. He had pride, and he gloried in it, in believing his countrymen more wise and virtuous than any other people on earth; hence he believed them better qualified to administer and support a republican government. This character of Americans was the result of early education, aided indeed by the discipline of the revolution."

* * * * *

"Much information (he said) might be obtained by the experience of others, if, in despite of it, we were not determined to be guided only by a visionary theory. The ancient republics of Greece and Rome (said he), see with what jealousy they guarded the rights of citizenship against adulteration by foreign mixture. The Swiss nation (he said), in modern times, had not been less jealous on the same subject. Indeed, no example could be found, in the history of man, to authorize the experiment which had been made by the United States. It seemed to have been adopted by universal practice as a maxim, that the republican character was in no way to be formed but by early education. In some instances, to form this character, those propensities which are generally considered as almost irresistible, were appeased and subdued. And shall we (he asked) alone adopt the rash theory, that the subjects of all governments, despotic, monarchical, and aristocratical, are, as soon as they set foot on American ground, qualified to participate in administering the sovereignty of our country? Shall we hold the benefits of American citizenship so cheap as to invite, nay, to almost bribe, the discontented, the ambitious, and the avaricious of every country, to accept them?"

Mr. Wm. Vans Murray of Maryland, declared:

"He was quite indifferent if not fifty emigrants came into this country in a year's time. It would be unjust to hinder them, but impolitic to encourage them. He was afraid that coming from a quarter of the world so full of disorder and corruption, they might contaminate the purity and simplicity of the American character."

Mr. Ezekiel Gilbert of New York said:

"The terms of residence, before admitting aliens, ought to be very much longer than that mentioned in the bill."

Mr. Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts said:

"He agreed to the idea of Mr. Gilbert. He wished that a method could be found of permitting aliens to possess and transmit property, without at the same time giving them a right to vote."

No. 4.

Between 1793 and 1798 our country had been the scene of great excitement. The people seemed to lose sight of their own affairs in their anxiety about the questions which agitated Europe to its centre. There were two great parties in the public councils, and amongst the people; one of which was partial to England, and the other to France. Foreigners flocked to our shores and openly attempted to control the politics of the country.

Under circumstances like these, the law of 1795 was found to be inefficient, and it was deemed necessary to frame one better adapted to the exigencies of the times,—extending the term of residence before naturalization to fourteen years, and requiring the applicant at the time making his declaration to enter on the record a description of his person, age, occupation, nativity, etc., so as to establish his identity, and to prevent imposition by a fraudulent use of his papers. This certificate was to be filed in the office of the Secretary of State.

This bill was fully discussed by many distinguished men, but having devoted so much space already to this branch of the subject, I cannot extract largely from that debate. There is one speech, however, which contains so able an exposition of the principles of the American party, that I cannot forbear from giving a paragraph or two from it. I allude to the speech of Robert Goodloe Harper. He said:

“He believed that it was high time we should recover from the mistake which the country fell into, when it first began to form its constitutions, admitting foreigners to citizenship. This mistake, he believed, had been productive of very great evils to this country, and unless corrected, he was apprehensive these evils would greatly increase. He believed the time was now come when it would be proper to declare that nothing but birth should entitle a man to citizenship in this country. He thought this was a proper season for making a declaration. He believed the United States had experience enough to cure them of the folly of believing that the strength and happiness of the country would be promoted by admitting to the rights of citizenship all the congregations of people who resort to these shores from every part of the world.

Mr. Harper said he was for giving foreigners every facility of acquiring property, of holding property, of raising their families, and of transferring their property to their families. He was willing they should form citizens for us; but as to the rights of citizenship, he was not willing they should be enjoyed, except by persons born in this country. He did not think even this was desirable by the persons themselves. Why, he asked, did foreigners seek a residence in this

country? He supposed it was either to better their condition or to live under a government better and more free than the one they had left. But was it necessary these persons should at once become entitled to take a part in the concerns of the government? He believed it was by no means necessary, either to their happiness or prosperity, and he was sure it would not tend to the happiness of this country. If the native citizens are not indeed adequate to the performance of the duties of government, it might be expedient to invite legislators or voters from other countries to do that business for which they themselves are not qualified. But if the people of the country, who owe their birth to it, are adequate to all the duties of the government, he could not see for what reason strangers should be admitted; strangers, who, however acceptable they may be in other respects, could not have the same views and attachments with native citizens. Under this view of the subject, he was convinced it was an essential policy, which lay at the bottom of civil society, that no foreigner should be permitted to take a part in the government.

In the same debate Wm. Craik, of Maryland, said:

"He was disposed to go much further than is proposed in the bill, in restricting aliens from becoming citizens of this country. He should have no objection to say that no foreigner coming in this country after this time shall ever become a citizen."

James A. Bayard, of Delaware, said:

"Aliens cannot be considered as members of the society of the United States. Our laws are passed on the ground of our policy, and whatever is granted to aliens is a mere matter of favor, and if it is taken away they have no right to complain."

Upon the general principle of discouraging excessive immigration, I will on this branch of the question, quote but one other authority, and that is from the writings of Thomas Jefferson.

Candor compels me to admit that, when Mr. Jefferson became a candidate for the Presidency, he relaxed his opposition to foreigners to a very considerable extent, and that after his election he recommended a change in the law of 1798, which had been passed under the administration of his great rival and political antagonist, John Adams, so as to reduce the term of residence to five years.

But it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson's calm judgment in 1781, when he wrote his Notes on Virginia, and his practice whilst President, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show, conformed to the doctrines of the American party. In his Notes on Virginia, he says:

"Every species of government has its specific principle. Ours are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe.

It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchy—yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of immigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the government they imbibed in their early youth; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, and distracted mass. I may appeal to experience during the present contest for a verification of these conjectures. But if they be not certain in event, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience twenty-seven years and three months longer for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceful, more durable? Suppose twenty millions of republican Americans thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners to our present numbers would produce a similar effect here.”

In 1797, Mr. Jefferson was quite as emphatic and much more practical in his opposition to foreigners. In a petition to the legislature of Virginia, which he prepared in that year, he said: “And your petitioners further submit to the two Houses of Assembly, whether the safety of the citizens of this commonwealth, in their persons, their property, their laws and government, does not require that the capacity to act in the important office of a juror, grand or petty, civil or criminal, should be restrained in future to native citizens of the United States, or such as were citizens at the date of the treaty of peace which closed our revolutionary war, and whether the ignorance of our laws, and natural partiality to the countries of their birth, are not reasonable causes for declaring this to be one of the rights incommunicable in future to adopted citizens.”—Jefferson’s Writings, v. 9, p. 453.

How does this sound in the ears of Democracy?

What would Mr. J. have thought if he could have seen the day arrive when, instead of an aggregate of half a million of foreign population, there would be an annual influx of that number, of the worst classes of Europe?

Then, indeed, would he have uttered, with increased earnestness, the sentiment which we find in one of his letters:

"I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence—political, commercial, or in whatever form attempted. I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Dean, that there were an ocean of fire between this and the old world!"

The naturalization laws were changed in many particulars by the acts of 1802, 1813, and 1816. The last-named act guarded with peculiar care against abuses, by introducing new provisions, which made the identification of the applicant more certain, and required the proof to be matter of record.

In May, 1828, this law was altered so as to strike out the provisions requiring the application to be entered of record five years before naturalization. The object was to dispense with record evidence, and to substitute the patrol testimony of witnesses to prove residence. This change in the law was made a few months before an exciting Presidential election. One of those who urged the change was Mr. Buchanan, who had, on a private occasion, admonished his countrymen against the dangers of foreign influence. That change was doubtless made to conciliate the foreign vote, and in all probability had that effect. As might have been anticipated, it threw open a wide door for fraud, and it has brought upon the country a train of evils the magnitude of which it would be difficult to conceive.

No. 5.

Having presented the views of the American party on the question of naturalization, I proceed now to consider the line of policy which they propose to adopt in regard to elections and appointments to office.

Their general proposition is, to give a preference to native citizens over foreigners, for all places of public trust. They do not propose an absolute and entire exclusion of all foreigners, but a mere preference for natives, as the general rule. This is obvious from the language of the 3d article of the platform adopted at Philadelphia. But if doubt remained on the mind of any one as to the true interpretation of that article, it must be removed by a reference to the 5th article, which, in terms, recognizes the selection of officers of "foreign birth."

The announcement of this preference of Americans for their own countrymen has been met by the most bitter denunciations by the courtiers of the foreign vote. It has been declared to be unjust, proscriptive, and contrary to the principles of the Constitution; and the whole vocabulary of vulgar abuse has been exhausted, by demagogues of every grade, in giving expression to their sentiments in regard to it. Without being in the slightest degree ruffled by such outpourings of vituperation, let us now inquire:

1. Is there any wrong, as a question of principle, in this preference for natives over foreigners, for public stations?

2. Is there anything in it contrary to the letter or spirit of the Constitution?

3. What was the opinion of the fathers of the republic on the subject?

1. Is it wrong in principle? Here let it be remembered that it is not proposed to legislate on this subject. No one has yet suggested the idea of enacting a law to exclude foreigners from office. All that is contemplated is, to awaken and to organize the American sentiment of the country,—to create a wholesome public opinion, which will operate, alike on the people and the government, to induce them, in the exercise of the elective franchise and the power of appointment, to give a preference to Americans for public stations.

What will be the effect in practice? Every man will be left free to exercise his constitutional right to vote as he may deem right. There will be no legal restraint upon him. His own discretion and sense of duty will be his only guides.—Well, if, in the exercise of my discretion, I do not choose to vote for a foreigner, has any one a right to complain? Do I wrong anybody by voting according to the dictates of my own conscience and judgment? Certainly not. It is of the very essence of freedom that I shall vote according to my own sense of right and duty, without dictation from any man. And if I have the right, has not my neighbor, or any number of my neighbors, the same right? And may we not legitimately compare opinions—talk the matter over together, and agree to vote in the same way? Is not such every day's practice? Is it not the very basis of all party organization—that men who think alike should vote together? Do not Whigs and Democrats consult together in their respective primary meetings, caucuses, and conventions, and agree to vote together, so as to accomplish their common objects by concert of action? Do not Whigs agree to vote against Democrats, and Democrats against Whigs, without incurring the censure of any one? And why may not Americans agree to vote against foreigners? Is it not as legitimate to vote together against foreigners, as against our own countrymen of the opposite political party?—Was it not as legitimate for our fathers to fight against the Hessians as against the Tories, when they joined in a common warfare on our liberty and independence? And may not Americans of the present day, lawfully and rightfully, unite their votes against foreigners, as well as against the Democrats, who use them to oppress us and deprive us of our constitutional rights?

The argument against the American party proceeds on the assumption that they propose to do injustice to foreigners.

Now if injustice is to be done, it must be by infringing some right that foreigners possess. This leads us to inquire if they have any right whatever to become naturalized, unless we choose to confer it on them by law? No jurist will contend that they have. But if they have such a right, would not that right be as effectually invaded by a restriction of five years as by one of fifteen or twenty-one years? The difference would only be one of degree. The imposition of an illegal tax of five cents on my property is as much a violation of my rights, as one of five dollars would be. And so a restriction on my natural rights for five years, is as palpably unjust as one of twenty-one years. The one may be more burdensome than the other, but it is no more a violation of abstract right. If then the Democracy contend that the rights of foreigners are to be violated by the proposed policy of the American party, they are inevitably driven, by their own argument, to contend for a repeal of all restrictions. But they will assume no such position, for they know that naturalization is a mere matter of favor, which any government may rightfully grant or withhold at its pleasure, and may repeal or modify as circumstances may render expedient.

Thus the whole question revolves itself into one of time, and not of principle. The question is not as to the property of a probation, but as to the length of that probation!

I think we may therefore safely assume that there is nothing wrong in the abstract in this great principle of Americanism—this idea of preferring our country and our own countrymen to foreign countries and foreign men—this feeling of nationality and patriotism which prompts the wish that "Americans shall rule America!" We may also set it down as an admitted fact, that it is not opposed to the principles of spirit of our fundamental laws, because we find it incorporated in both the federal and state constitutions—and in regard to the highest offices known to our federal and state governments.

No. 6.

When differences of opinion arise in regard to any matter of principle or policy connected with the administration of the government, it is a safe rule to refer to the opinions and practice of those who were its founders, for instruction and guidance; for, however much our country may have progressed in the arts and sciences, since the days of the Revolution, I doubt whether we have made any material advance within that time in patriotism or knowledge of the true principles of the Constitution.

Acting on this idea, I now ask your attention to what the fathers of the republic thought of that doctrine of the Ameri-

can party which declares a preference for natives of the country over foreigners, for all places of public trust.

The first evidence to which I will refer on this point is a resolution reported to the Continental Congress in 1777, by a committee, of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, and Mr. Sherman, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Read, and Mr. Williams were members. It is in these words:

"Resolved, That it is inconsistent with the interests of the United States to appoint any person not a natural born citizen thereof to the office of minister, charge d'affaires, consul, or vice-consul, or to any other civil department in a foreign country; and that a copy of this resolve be sent to Messrs. Adams, Franklin and Jay, ministers of the said States in Europe."

But what did George Washington think on this question? The evidence on this point is abundant; but I must be satisfied with quoting but a few passages from his writings.

Before doing so, however, I will call attention to some of his general orders whilst at the head of the army. They will be found in American Archives, 4th series, vol. 2, p. 1630.

"You are not to enlist any person who is not an American born, unless such person has a wife and family, and is a settled resident of this country."

"The persons you enlist must be provided with good and complete arms.

"Given at headquarters, at Cambridge, this 10th July, 1775. HORATIO GATES, Adj. Gen."

"By His Excellency, George Washington:

"General Orders.

"Parole—Dorchester; Countersign—Exeter.

"The General has great reason and is displeased with the negligence and inattention of those officers who have placed as sentries at the outposts, men with whose characters they are unacquainted. He, therefore, orders that for the future no man shall be appointed to those stations who is not a *native of this country*; this order is to be considered a standing one, and the officers are to pay obedience to it *at their peril*.

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In the description of the men to be selected, we find, among the other qualifications required, the following: "They must be Americans born."

In a letter from Gen. Washington to Col. Spotswood, dated

in 1777, and to be found in a recent publication entitled "Maxims of Washington," p. 192, the following passage occurs:

"You will therefore send me none but natives, and men of some property, if you have them. I must insist that in making this choice you give no intimation of my preference for natives, as I do not want to create any invidious distinction between them and foreigners."

The correspondence of General Washington, from the commencement of the Revolution almost to the date of his death, abounds in similar sentiments. I refer to a few of his letters:

"Morristown, May 7th, 1777.

"Dear Sir: I take the liberty to ask you what Congress expects I am to do with the many foreigners that have at different times been promoted to the rank of field-officers, and by their last resolve two to that of colonels? These men have no attachment for the country further than interest binds them. Our officers think it exceedingly hard, after they have toiled in the service and have sustained many losses, to have strangers put over them, whose merit perhaps is not equal to their own, but whose effrontery will take no denial. It is by the zeal and activity of our own people that the cause must be supported, and not by the few hungry adventurers.

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"To Richard H. Lee."

"To the same: You will, before this reaches you, have seen Monsieur Decoudray; what his real expectations are, I know not; but I fear if his appointment is equal to what I have been told is his expectation, it will be attended with unhappy consequences, to say nothing of the policy of intrusting a department on the execution of which the salvation of the army depends, to a foreigner, who has no other tie to bind him to the interests of the country than honor. I would beg leave to observe that by putting Mr. D. at the head of the artillery you will lose a very valuable officer in General Knox, who is a man of great military reading, sound judgment, and closer inspections, and who will resign if any one is put over him.

"I am, etc.,

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"White Plains, July 24th, 1778.

"Dear Sir: The design of this is to touch cursorily upon a subject of very great importance to the well-being of these states, much more so than will appear at first sight—I mean the appointment of so many foreigners to offices of high rank and trust in our service.

"The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been be-

when along our whole western frontier we were exposed to the incursions of savage enemies, who required a strong force to keep them in check. There was then every motive to extend inducements to foreigners to emigrate to this country, to strengthen us against foreign and domestic enemies, and to subdue and bring into cultivation our wild and unsettled domain. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the law was so loosely drawn as not even to require a renunciation by the applicant of his allegiance to his native sovereign.

In 1795, a much more stringent naturalization law was passed, which required the application to make, 1st. A declaration, three years before his admission, that it was his purpose to become a citizen—and to renounce for ever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, whereof such alien may at that time be a citizen or subject. 2d. He was required, when admitted, to take an oath "that he has resided within the United States five years at least," and one year within the state or territory in which he applied—and the court was to be satisfied of the truth of this declaration—and he was required further to swear "to support the Constitution of the United States, and that he doth absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatsoever, and particularly by name the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, whereof he was before a citizen or subject."

In the progress of the discussion of this bill, many sound American sentiments were expressed, which precisely accord with the sentiments of the American party of the present day.

Samuel Dexter, jun., of Mass. led off in the debate, expressed himself opposed "to the facility with which, under the existing laws, aliens may acquire citizenship." He moved to strike out two years, as provided in the law of 1790.

John Page of Va., although in general very friendly to naturalization, said: "He approved the design of the mover, because he thought nothing more desirable than to see good order, public virtue, and true morality constituting the character of citizens of the United States, for without morality, and indeed a general sense of religion, a republican government cannot flourish, nay, cannot long exist, since, without them, disorders will arise which the strong arm of powerful governments can alone correct or retrieve."

Mr. Dexter said:

"America, if her political institutions should on experience be found to be wisely adjusted, and she shall improve her national advantages, had opened to her view a more rich and glorious prospect than ever was presented to man. She had chosen for herself a government which left to the citizens as great a portion of freedom as was consistent with a social com-

pact. All believed the preservation of this government in its purity indispensable to the continuance of our happiness. The foundation on which it rested was general intelligence and public virtue; in other words, wisdom to discern, and patriotism to pursue the general good. He had pride, and he gloried in it, in believing his countrymen more wise and virtuous than any other people on earth; hence he believed them better qualified to administer and support a republican government. This character of Americans was the result of early education, aided indeed by the discipline of the revolution."

* * * * *

"Much information (he said) might be obtained by the experience of others, if, in despite of it, we were not determined to be guided only by a visionary theory. The ancient republics of Greece and Rome (said he), see with what jealousy they guarded the rights of citizenship against adulteration by foreign mixture. The Swiss nation (he said), in modern times, had not been less jealous on the same subject. Indeed, no example could be found, in the history of man, to authorize the experiment which had been made by the United States. It seemed to have been adopted by universal practice as a maxim, that the republican character was in no way to be formed but by early education. In some instances, to form this character, those propensities which are generally considered as almost irresistible, were appeased and subdued. And shall we (he asked) alone adopt the rash theory, that the subjects of all governments, despotic, monarchical, and aristocratical, are, as soon as they set foot on American ground, qualified to participate in administering the sovereignty of our country? Shall we hold the benefits of American citizenship so cheap as to invite, nay, to almost bribe, the discontented, the ambitious, and the avaricious of every country, to accept them?"

Mr. Wm. Vans Murray of Maryland, declared:

"He was quite indifferent if not fifty emigrants came into this country in a year's time. It would be unjust to hinder them, but impolitic to encourage them. He was afraid that coming from a quarter of the world so full of disorder and corruption, they might contaminate the purity and simplicity of the American character."

Mr. Ezekiel Gilbert of New York said:

"The terms of residence, before admitting aliens, ought to be very much longer than that mentioned in the bill."

Mr. Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts said:

"He agreed to the idea of Mr. Gilbert. He wished that a method could be found of permitting aliens to possess and transmit property, without at the same time giving them a right to vote."

No. 4.

Between 1793 and 1798 our country had been the scene of great excitement. The people seemed to lose sight of their own affairs in their anxiety about the questions which agitated Europe to its centre. There were two great parties in the public councils, and amongst the people; one of which was partial to England, and the other to France. Foreigners flocked to our shores and openly attempted to control the politics of the country.

Under circumstances like these, the law of 1795 was found to be inefficient, and it was deemed necessary to frame one better adapted to the exigencies of the times,—extending the term of residence before naturalization to fourteen years, and requiring the applicant at the time making his declaration to enter on the record a description of his person, age, occupation, nativity, etc., so as to establish his identity, and to prevent imposition by a fraudulent use of his papers. This certificate was to be filed in the office of the Secretary of State.

This bill was fully discussed by many distinguished men, but having devoted so much space already to this branch of the subject, I cannot extract largely from that debate. There is one speech, however, which contains so able an exposition of the principles of the American party, that I cannot forbear from giving a paragraph or two from it. I allude to the speech of Robert Goodloe Harper. He said:

“He believed that it was high time we should recover from the mistake which the country fell into, when it first began to form its constitutions, admitting foreigners to citizenship. This mistake, he believed, had been productive of very great evils to this country, and unless corrected, he was apprehensive these evils would greatly increase. He believed the time was now come when it would be proper to declare that nothing but birth should entitle a man to citizenship in this country. He thought this was a proper season for making a declaration. He believed the United States had experience enough to cure them of the folly of believing that the strength and happiness of the country would be promoted by admitting to the rights of citizenship all the congregations of people who resort to these shores from every part of the world.

Mr. Harper said he was for giving foreigners every facility of acquiring property, of holding property, of raising their families, and of transferring their property to their families. He was willing they should form citizens for us; but as to the rights of citizenship, he was not willing they should be enjoyed, except by persons born in this country. He did not think even this was desirable by the persons themselves. Why, he asked, did foreigners seek a residence in this

country? He supposed it was either to better their condition or to live under a government better and more free than the one they had left. But was it necessary these persons should at once become entitled to take a part in the concerns of the government? He believed it was by no means necessary, either to their happiness or prosperity, and he was sure it would not tend to the happiness of this country. If the native citizens are not indeed adequate to the performance of the duties of government, it might be expedient to invite legislators or voters from other countries to do that business for which they themselves are not qualified. But if the people of the country, who owe their birth to it, are adequate to all the duties of the government, he could not see for what reason strangers should be admitted; strangers, who, however acceptable they may be in other respects, could not have the same views and attachments with native citizens. Under this view of the subject, he was convinced it was an essential policy, which lay at the bottom of civil society, that no foreigner should be permitted to take a part in the government.

In the same debate Wm. Craik, of Maryland, said:

"He was disposed to go much further than is proposed in the bill, in restricting aliens from becoming citizens of this country. He should have no objection to say that no foreigner coming in this country after this time shall ever become a citizen."

James A. Bayard, of Delaware, said:

"Aliens cannot be considered as members of the society of the United States. Our laws are passed on the ground of our policy, and whatever is granted to aliens is a mere matter of favor, and if it is taken away they have no right to complain."

Upon the general principle of discouraging excessive immigration, I will on this branch of the question, quote but one other authority, and that is from the writings of Thomas Jefferson.

Candor compels me to admit that, when Mr. Jefferson became a candidate for the Presidency, he relaxed his opposition to foreigners to a very considerable extent, and that after his election he recommended a change in the law of 1798, which had been passed under the administration of his great rival and political antagonist, John Adams, so as to reduce the term of residence to five years.

But it will be seen that Mr. Jefferson's calm judgment in 1781, when he wrote his Notes on Virginia, and his practice whilst President, as I shall hereafter have occasion to show, conformed to the doctrines of the American party. In his Notes on Virginia, he says:

"Every species of government has its specific principle. Ours are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe.

It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchy—yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of immigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the government they imbibed in their early youth; or if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it, warp and bias its direction, and render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, and distracted mass. I may appeal to experience during the present contest for a verification of these conjectures. But if they be not certain in event, are they not probable? Is it not safer to wait with patience twenty-seven years and three months longer for the attainment of any degree of population desired or expected? May not our government be more homogeneous, more peaceful, more durable? Suppose twenty millions of republican Americans thrown all of a sudden into France, what would be the condition of that kingdom? If it would be more turbulent, less happy, less strong, we may believe that the addition of half a million of foreigners to our present numbers would produce a similar effect here.”

In 1797, Mr. Jefferson was quite as emphatic and much more practical in his opposition to foreigners. In a petition to the legislature of Virginia, which he prepared in that year, he said: “And your petitioners further submit to the two Houses of Assembly, whether the safety of the citizens of this commonwealth, in their persons, their property, their laws and government, does not require that the capacity to act in the important office of a juror, grand or petty, civil or criminal, should be restrained in future to native citizens of the United States, or such as were citizens at the date of the treaty of peace which closed our revolutionary war, and whether the ignorance of our laws, and natural partiality to the countries of their birth, are not reasonable causes for declaring this to be one of the rights incommunicable in future to adopted citizens.”—Jefferson’s Writings, v. 9, p. 453.

How does this sound in the ears of Democracy?

What would Mr. J. have thought if he could have seen the day arrive when, instead of an aggregate of half a million of foreign population, there would be an annual influx of that number, of the worst classes of Europe?

Then, indeed, would he have uttered, with increased earnestness, the sentiment which we find in one of his letters:

"I hope we may find some means in future of shielding ourselves from foreign influence—political, commercial, or in whatever form attempted. I can scarcely withhold myself from joining in the wish of Silas Dean, that there were an ocean of fire between this and the old world!"

The naturalization laws were changed in many particulars by the acts of 1802, 1813, and 1816. The last-named act guarded with peculiar care against abuses, by introducing new provisions, which made the identification of the applicant more certain, and required the proof to be matter of record.

In May, 1828, this law was altered so as to strike out the provisions requiring the application to be entered of record five years before naturalization. The object was to dispense with record evidence, and to substitute the patrol testimony of witnesses to prove residence. This change in the law was made a few months before an exciting Presidential election. One of those who urged the change was Mr. Buchanan, who had, on a private occasion, admonished his countrymen against the dangers of foreign influence. That change was doubtless made to conciliate the foreign vote, and in all probability had that effect. As might have been anticipated, it threw open a wide door for fraud, and it has brought upon the country a train of evils the magnitude of which it would be difficult to conceive.

No. 5.

Having presented the views of the American party on the question of naturalization, I proceed now to consider the line of policy which they propose to adopt in regard to elections and appointments to office.

Their general proposition is, to give a preference to native citizens over foreigners, for all places of public trust. They do not propose an absolute and entire exclusion of all foreigners, but a mere preference for natives, as the general rule. This is obvious from the language of the 3d article of the platform adopted at Philadelphia. But if doubt remained on the mind of any one as to the true interpretation of that article, it must be removed by a reference to the 5th article, which, in terms, recognizes the selection of officers of "foreign birth."

The announcement of this preference of Americans for their own countrymen has been met by the most bitter denunciations by the courtiers of the foreign vote. It has been declared to be unjust, proscriptive, and contrary to the principles of the Constitution; and the whole vocabulary of vulgar abuse has been exhausted, by demagogues of every grade, in giving expression to their sentiments in regard to it. Without being in the slightest degree ruffled by such outpourings of vituperation, let us now inquire:

1. Is there any wrong, as a question of principle, in this preference for natives over foreigners, for public stations?

2. Is there anything in it contrary to the letter or spirit of the Constitution?

3. What was the opinion of the fathers of the republic on the subject?

1. Is it wrong in principle? Here let it be remembered that it is not proposed to legislate on this subject. No one has yet suggested the idea of enacting a law to exclude foreigners from office. All that is contemplated is, to awaken and to organize the American sentiment of the country,—to create a wholesome public opinion, which will operate, alike on the people and the government, to induce them, in the exercise of the elective franchise and the power of appointment, to give a preference to Americans for public stations.

What will be the effect in practice? Every man will be left free to exercise his constitutional right to vote as he may deem right. There will be no legal restraint upon him. His own discretion and sense of duty will be his only guides.—Well, if, in the exercise of my discretion, I do not choose to vote for a foreigner, has any one a right to complain? Do I wrong anybody by voting according to the dictates of my own conscience and judgment? Certainly not. It is of the very essence of freedom that I shall vote according to my own sense of right and duty, without dictation from any man. And if I have the right, has not my neighbor, or any number of my neighbors, the same right? And may we not legitimately compare opinions—talk the matter over together, and agree to vote in the same way? Is not such every day's practice? Is it not the very basis of all party organization—that men who think alike should vote together? Do not Whigs and Democrats consult together in their respective primary meetings, caucuses, and conventions, and agree to vote together, so as to accomplish their common objects by concert of action? Do not Whigs agree to vote against Democrats, and Democrats against Whigs, without incurring the censure of any one? And why may not Americans agree to vote against foreigners? Is it not as legitimate to vote together against foreigners, as against our own countrymen of the opposite political party?—Was it not as legitimate for our fathers to fight against the Hessians as against the Tories, when they joined in a common warfare on our liberty and independence? And may not Americans of the present day, lawfully and rightfully, unite their votes against foreigners, as well as against the Democrats, who use them to oppress us and deprive us of our constitutional rights?

The argument against the American party proceeds on the assumption that they propose to do injustice to foreigners.

Now if injustice is to be done, it must be by infringing some right that foreigners possess. This leads us to inquire if they have any right whatever to become naturalized, unless we choose to confer it on them by law? No jurist will contend that they have. But if they have such a right, would not that right be as effectually invaded by a restriction of five years as by one of fifteen or twenty-one years? The difference would only be one of degree. The imposition of an illegal tax of five cents on my property is as much a violation of my rights, as one of five dollars would be. And so a restriction on my natural rights for five years, is as palpably unjust as one of twenty-one years. The one may be more burdensome than the other, but it is no more a violation of abstract right. If then the Democracy contend that the rights of foreigners are to be violated by the proposed policy of the American party, they are inevitably driven, by their own argument, to contend for a repeal of all restrictions. But they will assume no such position, for they know that naturalization is a mere matter of favor, which any government may rightfully grant or withhold at its pleasure, and may repeal or modify as circumstances may render expedient.

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"The lavish manner in which rank has hitherto been be-

stowed on these gentlemen, will certainly be productive of one or the other of these two evils, either to make us despicable in the eyes of Europe, or become a means of pouring them in upon us like a torrent, and adding to our present burden. But it is neither the expense nor the trouble of them I most dread; there is an evil more extensive in its nature and fatal in its consequence to be apprehended, and that is, the driving of all our officers out of the service, and throwing not only our own army, but our military councils, entirely into the hands of foreigners.

"The officers, my dear sir, on whom you must depend for the defence of the cause, distinguished by length of service and military merit, will not submit much, if any, longer to the unnatural promotion of men over them, who have nothing more than a little plausibility, unbounded pride and ambition, and a perseverance in the application to support their pretensions, not to be resisted but by uncommon firmness; men who, in the first instance, say they wish for nothing more than the honor of serving so glorious a cause as volunteers, the next day solicit rank without pay, the day following want money advanced to them; and in the course of a week, want further promotion.

"The expediency and policy of the measure remains to be considered, and whether it is consistent with justice or prudence to promote these military fortune-hunters at the hazard of our army. Baron Steuben, I now find, is also wanting to quit his inspectorship for a command in the line. This will be productive of much discontent. In a word, although I think the Baron an excellent officer, I do most devoutly wish that we had not a single foreigner amongst us, except the Marquis de Lafayette, who acts upon very different principles from those which govern the rest.

"Adieu. I am, most sincerely yours,

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"To Gouverneur Morris, Esq."

During his Presidency he wrote thus:

Philadelphia, Nov. 17th, 1794.

"Dear Sir: * * * My opinion with respect to immigration is, that, except of useful mechanics, and some particular description of men and professions, there is no use of encouragement. I am, etc.

"G. WASHINGTON

"To John Adams, Vice President of U. S."

"Mount Vernon, January 20th, 1790.

"Sir: * * * You know, my good sir, that it is not the policy of this government to employ foreigners when it can well be

avoided, either in the civil or military walks of life. * * * There is a species of self-importance in all foreign officers, that cannot be gratified without doing injustice to meritorious characters among our own countrymen, who conceive, and justly, where there is no great preponderance of experience or merit, that they are entitled to all the offices in the gift of their government.

I am, etc.,

"G. WASHINGTON

"To J. Q. Adams, American Minister at Berlin."

About the same time he wrote to a foreigner who applied to him for office:

"Dear Sir: * * * It does not accord with the policy of this government to bestow offices, civil or military, upon foreigners, to the exclusion of our own citizens.

"Yours, etc.,

G. WASHINGTON.

To Sir John St. Clair, he wrote thus:

"I have no intention to invite immigrants, even if there are no restrictive acts against it. I am opposed to it altogether."

While minister to France, in 1788, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Jay in the following words:

"Native citizens, on several valuable accounts, are preferable to aliens or citizens alien born. Native citizens possess our language, know our laws, customs, and commerce, have general acquaintance in the United States, give better satisfaction, and are more to be relied on in point of fidelity. To avail ourselves of native citizens, it appears to me to be advisable to declare by standing law that no person but a native citizen shall be capable of the office of consul."

Again, shortly after his election to the Presidency, he addressed a political letter to Nathaniel Macon, dated Washington, May 14th, 1801, in which he details to Mr. Macon many of his reforms. In this letter we find the following remarkable paragraph: "An early recommendation had been given to the Postmaster General, to employ no printer, foreigner, or revolutionary tory in any of his offices."

We may judge of his distrust of foreigners when we find him classing them with tories!

George Mason—the author of the Bill of Rights, and of the Virginia Constitution of 1776—a man who was pronounced by Mr. Jefferson to be "himself a host," and "a man of the first order of wisdom," also expressed his concurrence in this doctrine of the American party.

In the convention which framed the Federal Constitution, four years' residence had been proposed as a qualification for election to the Senate of the United States. Gouverneur Morris proposed to substitute fourteen years, alleging as a reason, "the danger of admitting strangers into our councils."

A discussion thereupon ensued in which Mr. Pinckney said, "As the Senate is to have the power of making treaties, and managing our foreign affairs, there is peculiar danger and impropriety in opening its doors to those who have foreign attachments. He quoted the jealousy of the Athenians on this subject, who made it death for any stranger to intrude his voice into their legislative proceedings."

"Col. Mason highly approved of the policy of the motion. Were it not that many, not natives of this country, had acquired great credit during the Revolution, he should be for restraining the eligibility into the Senate to natives."

In the debate in the Federal Convention on the qualifications of members of the House of Representatives, Mr. Elbridge Gerry said that he wished "that in future the eligibility might be confined to natives. Foreign powers will intermeddle in our affairs, and spare no expense to influence them. Persons having foreign attachments will be insinuated into our councils, in order to be made instruments for their purposes. Every one knows the vast sums laid out in Europe for secret services."

The strength of the American feeling during the administration of Mr. Madison will be apparent from the fact, that when he nominated Mr. Gallatin, as one of the commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace with Great Britain, Wm. B. Giles of Va., Samuel Smith of Md., and Mr. Stone of N. C., strongly opposed the nomination on the ground that Mr. G. was a foreigner, and he was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 18 to 17.

Mr. Madison afterwards nominated Mr. Gallatin as Minister to France, and he was confirmed in the absence of the above named gentlemen. The apology for this violation of the settled policy of the government was, that Mr. Gallatin came to the United States in 1781, being prior to the formation of the Federal Constitution.

Mr. John Randolph was also a strong American in his sentiments. When the bill for chartering the Bank of the United States was before Congress, Mr. R. moved to add the word "Native," in the clause which limited the choice of directors to citizens of the United States.

In the course of his remarks "he inveighed, with much acrimony, against the whole class of naturalized citizens; attributing to them the declaration of war, and almost all other political evils—maintaining, that they ought to be admitted only as denizens, without any participation in the councils of the country, and the benefit only of protection during good behavior."—Niles Reg. 10, 31-47.

But there is another authority which among all professing

to be Democrats will, I presume, be regarded as of the most important character. I allude to the Virginia legislature of 1798-'99. That venerable body has received at the hands of the Democracy, a sort of political apotheosis. Its patriotism and wisdom and profound knowledge of the Constitution are the constant themes of praise. The celebrated resolutions passed by it on the 21st of December, 1798, are regarded as of but little less authority than the Constitution itself. No convention of the party, state or federal, closes its sessions without a reverent acknowledgement and reaffirmation of the doctrines of 1798-'99.

Let us then see what that illustrious body of statesmen thought, and officially declared, in regard to the peculiar principles of the American party? By reference to the New Series of Henning's Statutes at Large, Vol. 2, p. 194, it will be seen that on the 16th day of January, 1799, the legislature of Virginia, in response to certain resolutions of Massachusetts, passed the following preamble and resolution:

"The General Assembly, nevertheless, concurring in opinion with the legislature of Massachusetts, that very constitutional barrier should be opposed to the introduction of foreign influence into our National Councils:—

"Resolved, That the Constitution ought to be so amended that no foreigner who shall not have acquired rights under the Constitution and laws, at the time of making this amendment, shall thereafter be eligible to the office of Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States, nor to any office in the judiciary or executive departments."

But it would seem that the Democracy have not always been such devoted friends of foreigners, as they now profess to be. Some twelve or fourteen years ago, Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State, appointed Mr. Reynolds, a foreigner, to a clerkship in that department. This act at once drew down on Mr. Webster the most bitter denunciation of the Democratic press. The New York Evening Post, edited by W. C. Bryant, published an article on the subject (which was copied by the Globe,) from which the following is an exact: "The appointment of a man named Reynolds, an alien, by Mr. Webster, to a place in the department of state, has astonished those who knew him in this city."

"The indecency of this appointment of an alien to a post in the department which has charge over our foreign relations, will surprise those who have not, like us, ceased to be surprised at anything done by Mr. Webster."

I will close this article (already too much extended), by a gem from the celebrated oration of Mr. Buchanan, the favorite candidate of the Democracy of Virginia for the Presi-

dency. This oration was delivered at Lancaster, Pa., on 4th of July, 1815.

Mr. B. said, "Again we stand neutral towards all the European powers. What then should be the political conduct of our country in future? Precisely to pursue the political maxims adopted by Washington. We ought to cultivate peace with all nations by adopting a strict neutrality; not only of conduct, but of sentiment. We ought to make our neutrality respected, by placing ourselves in an attitude of defence. Above all, we ought to drive from our shores foreign influence, and cherish exclusively American feelings. Foreign influence has been, in every age, the curse of republics. Her jaundiced eyes see all things in false colors. The thick atmosphere of prejudice, by which she is ever surrounded, excludes from her sight the light of heaven. Whilst she worships the nation which she favors for this very crime, she curses the enemy of that nation for her very virtues. In every age she has marched before the enemies of her country, proclaiming peace when there was no peace, and lulling its defenders into fatal security while the iron hand of despotism was aiming a death-blow at her liberties. Already our infant republic has felt her withering influences. Already she has involved us in a war, which has nearly cost us our existence. Let us then learn wisdom from experience, and for ever banish this fiend from our society."

No. 7.

The next topic which I propose to discuss is the immigration to this country—its growth, extent, and character—and its relations to crime, pauperism, social and political order, and to Southern institutions:

If the inquiry were propounded to any candid man, whether, in his opinion, there is any great nation in Europe, at the present time which is capable of sustaining republican institutions, the answer would necessarily be in the negative. England, the most enlightened and best educated in the principles of liberty of all the countries of the old world, has made the experiment and failed. France, which boasts of its refinement and civilization, and which has outstripped every other country in its progress in the arts and sciences, has twice made the effort, and, after passing through the most appalling scenes of anarchy and blood, has relapsed into despotism. Neither Russia, Prussia, nor Austria have ever ventured on the hopeless attempt. The spasmodic convulsions in Italy and Hungary have not been marked by a single circumstance tending to indicate that those who incited the people to insurrection had the faintest comprehension of the principles of na-

tional freedom. And yet it is from these countries that the immigrants flock to our shores.

As a general rule, too, I may add that those who come are not of the better classes—not those who are educated and prosperous in their own country—but the ignorant, the starving, and the depraved, those who “leave their country for their country’s good.” That there are many exceptions, I am willing to admit, but that the general remark is correct, will not be denied by any who have seen the hordes of foreigners who are crowding to our Northwestern states, or who have visited our lines of internal improvements and the outskirts and alleys of our cities, or who have inspected the criminal calendars of our courts.

Assuming these propositions to be true, the inquiry very naturally suggests itself, if these people—even the best of them—are incapable of maintaining a free government at home, what additional qualifications do they acquire for the fulfillment of the high functions of a citizen of a republic, by being transported across the Atlantic? Can they change their nature,—their habits,—their prejudices, by a change in their geographical position? Do they become wiser and better men by a voyage across the ocean? No one will contend for a proposition so absurd upon its face. How then can we expect immigrants, forthwith to understand the theory and practical operations of our complicated systems of governments, and to be prepared to participate intelligently in their administration? If the whole population was of this character, all will admit that our government could not stand many years. Nay, if one-half or one-third of our people were foreigners, of recent importation, it must be manifest, that the existence of our institutions would be in imminent jeopardy. And if such be the fact, does it not follow that precisely as you augment the proportion of the foreign to the native population, you augment the perils to freedom?

Of all governments on earth ours requires the largest amount of virtue and intelligence to sustain it. Its very foundation is laid in the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people. Let them become corrupt, ignorant, or careless in the discharge of their duties, and the government can no longer stand. Ignorance may be tolerated in a subject, because he has no part to perform but to yield obedience. But where the people are the sources of all power—where they perform important functions in the administration of public affairs, if they are deficient either in knowledge of their duties, or in the integrity necessary to a faithful discharge of them, the whole machinery must at once become deranged, and the most disastrous consequences ensue.

Bearing these facts in mind, let us now turn to the statis-

tical tables, and see what has been the extent of immigration to this country since 1790 (the earliest date from which we have any information to be relied on), to the beginning of the year 1855.

From 1790 to 1800 the number of immigrants was —	50,000
1800 to 1810.....	70,000
1810 to 1820.....	114,000
1820 to 1830.....	135,986
1830 to 1840.....	579,370
1840 to 1844.....	334,339
1844 to 1855.....	2,523,758

This is the estimate of Mr. De Bow in his census report made to Congress and published by its order.

The following statement will show the average annual immigration in the various periods above stated.

From 1790 to 1800 the average per year was.....	5,000
1800 to 1810.....	7,000
1810 to 1820.....	11,400
1820 to 1830.....	13,598
1830 to 1840.....	57,937
1840 to 1844.....	83,564
1844 to 1855.....	229,432

(It has, for some years, averaged *a million*, a year. T. E. W.)

This table shows that for the last eleven years the average annual immigration was nearly thirty-fold greater than during the first decade!

But, startling as this fact is, it does not present the case in its strongest light.

Mr. De Bow's tables are compiled from the reports of the collectors of the principal ports, which are very often imperfect, and do not present the whole truth, because captains of vessels being limited by law in regard to the number of their passengers, have a strong interest, when they violate it by bringing more than the number allowed by law, to conceal the fact by false returns.

Other tables made from returns in the office of the Secretary of State, of the number of passengers who arrived in this country from 1843 to 1855, show the following result, in round numbers:

From 30th Sept. 1843.....	84,000
From 30th Sept. 1844.....	119,000
From 30th Sept. 1845.....	158,000
From 30th Sept. 1846.....	232,000

From 30th Sept. 1847.....	220,000
From 30th Sept. 1848.....	309,000
From 30th Sept. 1849.....	66,000
From 31st Dec. 1849.....	315,000
From 31st Dec. 1850.....	408,000
From 31st Dec. 1851.....	398,000
From 31st Dec. 1852.....	400,000
From 31st Dec. 1853.....	460,000

Agg'e (including fractions omitted).....3,174,395

But even these tables do not show the whole amount of immigration, because they embrace only those who arrive by sea, and do not include such as come in by land from the British possessions, or any of the other contiguous countries.

It will, I doubt not, be safe to adopt the estimate of many well-informed persons, that for the year 1853, the aggregate immigration of the United States, by land and sea, was not short of half a million of souls!

In this connection, let us look at some other facts derived from the census tables, and in regard to the accuracy of which there can be no doubt.

In 1850 the white population of Virginia was.....	894,800
Maryland	417,943
North Carolina	553,028
South Carolina	274,563
Georgia	521,572
Alabama	426,514
Louisiana	255,491
Florida	47,203

It will be seen that at the rate of immigration in 1853, there arrived in this country, every year, a sufficient number of persons to make a state embracing as large a white population as Maryland or Alabama! and within a fraction enough to make one having as large a white population as North Carolina or Georgia!

Every two years there would be enough to balance the white population of Virginia!

Every six months there would be almost enough to offset South Carolina or Louisiana!

And every five weeks a sufficient number to act as a counterpoise to the entire white population of Florida! and every year enough to weigh down in the political scale ten such states as Florida!

Is this a picture to be contemplated with pleasure by the citizens of America?

But there is one other aspect in which I would present the subject to the people of the Southern states.

In 1850 the aggregate white population of all the slave states was 6,547,993.

Assuming the immigration to continue what it was in 1853—making no allowance for its increase, though the tables show it had been progressively and rapidly increasing every year—it will be seen that in thirteen years a foreign population would be poured on our shores equal to the entire white population of the fifteen slave states!

In the early days of the republic, the immigrants constituted one of the most valuable classes of our population. They were generally men of adventurous spirit—of energy, intelligence, and education—men who were attracted here by commerce, or the arts, or the learned professions. Their education and refinement fitted them for association with the most cultivated society, and they soon assimilated to the circles in which they moved. Such were the Scotch and Irish merchants, who settled in the valleys of the Rappahannock, the Potomac, and the James.

But what is the character of the great mass of those who crowd our immigrant ships now? They are the most ignorant of their countrymen—those who fly from starvation in their native land—whose highest aspiration is to satisfy the cravings of nature—who are ignorant of our institutions—and whose idea of liberty is comprehended in the license to drink all the whiskey they can get, and to indulge in the luxury of riots and the gratification of provincial animosities without hindrance from the officers of the law.

I appeal to the history of the country, and to the personal observation of every man who has seen large bodies of them assembled, on public works, and in populous cities, for the truth of the picture that I have drawn.

Yet such are the people who are imported to this country at the rate of half a million a year, and by fraudulent devices, in a few weeks or months, invested with all the privileges and franchises of American citizens! Such are the men who are to give tone to our politics and to mould our legislation! Theirs is to be the standard of intelligence, and patriotism, and devotion to liberty, which is to be consulted by aspirants to places of honor and trust, to be conferred by their suffrages! Each one of these is to weigh as much in the political scale as a Washington, a Henry, a Jefferson, or a Madison, of the olden time.

No. 8.

To qualify a people for a republican government, they must not only have intelligence and virtue, but they must undergo

a system of training and instruction in the principles of liberty, and in the practical workings of free institutions. They must learn to reverence the law and to obey it. They must acquire self-respect, and self-confidence, and understand that their well-being is inseparably interwoven with the peace and good order of society. They must comprehend that the restraints of social organization are not the arbitrary impositions of tyrannical power, but the voluntary surrender of a portion of their natural liberty for the more secure enjoyment of the residue.

Without such a training, the efforts of our ancestors to establish our present form of government would have proved an abortion. For more than one hundred years, they were educated in the principles of free government, under the fostering care of the mother country. Widely separated from England, the colonies were necessarily intrusted with the power of legislation, subject of course, to the supervision of the supreme government of Great Britain. This led the colonists to study the principles of freedom, engrafted during a long succession of ages on the British constitution, and to practise them in the regulation of their own affairs. When the crisis, therefore, arrived in their affairs, caused by the attempt of the mother country to violate the rights of the colonies, they were prepared to understand the wrong that was about to be done them, and to assert the true doctrines of liberty in their own behalf.

The protracted struggle of the Revolution, and the dangers and sufferings incident to it, also tended to enlighten the minds of the people, and to fit them for the high responsibilities of their position. Discussion was the order of the day throughout the colonies. The ablest men of the country were busily engaged in explaining to the people, in oral harangues, and published addresses, the nature of the evils with which they were threatened. The whole country was aroused to the highest pitch of excitement. Information was greedily sought for by all classes. The works of Milton, Locke, and Hampden were in every hand; and there never has been a day, when the mind of a nation was so thoroughly aroused, and so well instructed, not only in regard to the particular questions involved, but also in regard to the abstract nature of the rights and duties of the government and the people, as were the colonists at the close of the Revolutionary war.

Thus taught in a seven years' school of trial and adversity, when they came to form a government, they brought to the council chamber an amount of knowledge of the true principles of freedom which, I venture to say, no nation of the present day could equal. But with all these advantages, it was after long trial and tribulation that they were enabled to

consolidate their liberties, by the adoption of the admirable system of government under which we live.

Is it a matter of surprise then that Americans—the descendants of those who accomplished this great work, and who have learned, not only from history, but from the lips of their fathers, the dangers and troubles by which the country was surrounded, and the difficulty with which they were surmounted, should look with jealousy on everything which tends to put their priceless heritage in peril? Is it to be wondered at, that, knowing the complexity and delicacy of the great machine intrusted to their charge, they should be unwilling to see it surrendered to ignorant, incompetent, or unfaithful hands?

How is it possible that foreigners can have the same interest in, and attachment to, our country and its institutions as Americans? All their early recollections are associated with a far distant land. Their traditions, sympathies, and affections (if they be good men) are all with the homes of their childhood. As Archbishop Hughes remarked, with equal truth and beauty, "I would not exchange the bright memories of my early boyhood, in another land, and under another sky, for those of any other man living, no matter where he was born."

Who does not concur in the noble sentiments expressed by Henry Clay, in the Senate, on the 7th of February, 1839—"The Searcher of all hearts," said he, "knows that every pulsation of my mind beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty; wherever it is safe and practicable, I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. But I prefer the liberty of my own country to that of any other people, and the liberty of my own race to that of any other."

Shall we then jeopardize the liberty of "our own country" and "our own race" by intrusting it to the custody of people of foreign countries, and of a race alien to our own?

But let us now turn to the statistics of pauperism, crime, intemperance, and vagrancy, and see what revelations they will make in regard to the virtue and intelligence and capacity for self-government of our foreign population.

The report of the superintendent of the census shows that, in 1850, there was expended in the United States, of public money for the support of paupers, \$2,954,806. This was, of course, independent of all private charities.

The number of paupers supported was 134,972, and of these, 63,538, or more than one-half, were foreigners!

New York had, in that year, 40,580 foreign paupers, and only 19,275 natives. In that state, one in every sixteen of her

foreign population was a pauper, whilst of the native population, but one of every one hundred and twenty-seven was of that class.

In Pennsylvania, one in fifty-four of the foreign population was a pauper, and one in three hundred and forty-two of the native population.

Crime.—I have already, in connection with the letter of Mayor Wood, and to confirm his statements, shown that more than half the criminals of our country are of foreign birth. I will now add a few more specific facts from the different states.

In Massachusetts there were, according to the tables of 1850, 7250 convicts, of whom more than half were foreigners—and throughout all New England the proportion was about the same.

In Missouri there were 908 convicts, of whom 666 were foreigners.

In Connecticut the whole number was 850, of whom 305 were foreigners.

In Illinois the whole number was 316, of whom 189 were foreigners.

In Maine the whole number was 744, of whom 460 were foreigners.

But without going more at large into the subject, I will state the general fact, that according to the census of 1850, the convictions among the native population were but one in every fifteen hundred and eighty—those in the foreign population were one in every one hundred and sixty-five.

In the four cities of New York, Brooklyn, Albany, and Buffalo, the number of convictions in 1852 was 3733, of whom 2802 were foreigners.

But I pass from these disgusting details, to consider the indirect effects of this population on social and political order.

No argument can be necessary to show that such elements as those described in the statistics above cited, must necessarily create disorder, riots, and violations of law in any community into which they may be thrown. The tables themselves show that fact. But such persons bring other and indirect evils on the country which, if possible, are more fatal to its security than those to which I have referred.

When they become invested with the right of suffrage, candidates for office will seek their votes, and, in order to get them, will pander to their prejudices, consult their pleasure, and adopt every means to win their favor. To do this, the office-hunter must sink to their level. He must promise to do what accords with their wishes and tastes. He must associate with them, drink with them, flatter them, and, if need be, bribe them! In this way the candidates become prostitutes,

and the representatives become corrupt. After election, being anxious to retain their places, their eyes are constantly fixed on the voters, and their legislative action is shaped, not by a regard to the principles of the Constitution and the welfare of the country, but by a desire to conciliate the favor of this potential element in elections. And having made large sacrifices to secure their seats, they think it but fair to seize the earliest opportunity to reimburse themselves by plundering the treasury, under the guise of some contract or claim on the government. Have we not even beheld the humiliating spectacle of candidates for the Presidency courting the foreign vote in the most open and undisguised manner?

The dignity and independence of the officer is destroyed by practices like these, and he soon becomes a supple tool in the hands of an unscrupulous constituency.

The next step is from indirect to direct bribery. Instead of honeyed words, which do not satisfy hunger, or homesteads for men who would be too lazy to work them if they had them—money, ready money, will be demanded—yea, has been, and is now in some states too often demanded, as the price of votes! Thus money is made an element in political contests, and we already begin to see in our republic the germ of that corruption which enabled the foreign Pretorian bands to put up the imperial crown of Rome at auction! Continue to import hordes of ignorant and depraved foreigners, and clothe them with the elective franchise, and the day is not far distant when the party that can command the most money will control the elections; and men of property will justify themselves with the idea that they are buying their peace because the alternative left them is corruption or agrarianism.

But this is not the only form in which the evil of foreign influence on political affairs develops itself. Many of the educated foreigners bring with them the most distorted views of the ends and views of social organization. Many of them are infidels, atheists, socialists, and agrarians, and by their wild and demoralizing ideas corrupt the very fountains of liberty. Mormonism is a striking illustration of this species of foreign importation. In it we behold the most disgusting exhibition that the civilized world has ever witnessed of imposture, irreligion, and beastly licentiousness, introduced into the heart of our country, and sustained by the aid and influence of foreigners.

The political and religious—or rather anti-religious—theories of many of the Germans, are quite as shocking to the moral sense of the mass of our people, as the practices of the Mormons are revolting to their ideas of decency and propriety.

No. 9.

There is no subject on which the American party has been more misunderstood and misrepresented than in regard to its relations to the members of the Roman Catholic Church. It has been charged by its enemies, with being hostile to religious freedom, and as making war on the Catholics on account of their peculiar modes of faith and worship. The motive which prompts these accusations is obvious. The purpose is, to fasten the odium of intolerance, and of a disposition to deny to individuals the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, on the American party. But I affirm that all these charges are untrue.

The American party seeks to interfere with the religion of no man. It cheerfully acknowledges that that is a matter which rests—and should continue to rest—between each individual and his Creator. It recognises the freedom of religious opinion, and of religious worship, in the broadest sense of the terms. It is as tolerant of the religious sentiments of Catholics as of Protestants. It proposes to interfere no more with the religious faith and worship of the one than of the other.

The only provisions in the Philadelphia platform which bear on the subject of Catholicism in any form, are the following, viz., (the 5th).

No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate, or power, or who refuses to recognize the federal and state constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

And the 10th, which is in these words: Opposition to any union between church and state; no interference with religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office.

It cannot be pretended that either of these, indicate any disposition to interfere with the freedom of conscience, or to persecute Catholics on account of their faith or worship. On the contrary, the doctrine emphatically proclaimed in the 10th section above quoted, "no interference with religious faith," "no union between church and state," and "no test oaths for office."

And yet, in the face of these solemn declarations of the creed of the party, our enemies persist in charging us with intolerance and persecution for opinion's sake.

This leads us to inquire why, and in what respects, there is any antagonism between the American party and the Roman Catholics?

That there is a controversy between the Americans and the ultramontane branch of the Roman Church, will not be denied.

But that controversy is not of a religious character, but purely political. It has nothing to do with the faith or worship of the members of that division of the church, but relates entirely to certain political opinions, avowed by them, in regard to questions, not of an ecclesiastical character, but, affecting the policy of the state. With the Gallican branch of the Roman Church, which professes the same religious faith, and practises the same forms of worship, with the ultramontane branch—but which repudiates the obnoxious political opinions—the American party have no controversy whatever. They can cordially extend to them the embrace of brotherhood, and sustain them, without any sacrifice of principle, for political office.

The Roman Church is now, and has been for near three hundred years, divided into two great parties. One of these is known as the Gallican, or French branch, and the other as the ultramontane or Italian branch.

The latter maintain that the power of the Pope is supreme in temporal as well as spiritual things. They hold that he is lord over all kings, and potentates, and governments of the earth; that the subjects and citizens of all governments owe to him a higher allegiance than to their immediate sovereign; and that the Pope has the power to subvert republics, to nullify laws, and to absolve both subjects and citizens from their allegiance to any sovereign or republic which may incur his displeasure.

The Gallican branch of the church recognize the supremacy of the Pope in all ecclesiastical matters, but utterly repudiate it in all temporal or political affairs.

Great misconception has arisen in the minds of men, from not understanding the difference between the two branches of the Roman Church. And our adversaries, with a cunning worthy of Jesuits, have studiously endeavored to keep this important division in the back ground; whenever an American endeavors to show the danger of the ultramontane doctrine, and its irreconcilable antagonism to the principles of our Constitution, they deny that the Roman Church entertains any such doctrines, and quote largely from members of the Gallican branch to prove their proposition!

Begging my readers not to lose sight of this marked distinction between the two branches of the church, I will now endeavor to exhibit, from the highest authority, the present position of parties on this most important question.

Politicians are not generally very well informed on questions of an ecclesiastical character, and they may, therefore, be very naturally led into error, by not understanding matters of detail.

A striking illustration of this fact was exhibited, but a

little more than a year ago, in the Congress of the United States. In the course of a debate in that body, some allusion was made to the claims of the Pope to supremacy in temporal affairs. This at once drew from Mr. Chandler, himself a member of the Gallican branch of the church, an eloquent reply, in which he utterly disclaimed and denied any such assumption on the part of the Pope. The members of Congress not being profoundly versed in Catholic lore, were at once silenced, and the speech went to the country as a conclusive answer to the unjust charge against the church. But unfortunately for Mr. Chandler, neither Protestants nor the members of the ultramontane branch of his church were disposed to rest quietly under his exposition of the doctrines of the church. The press, both in this country and Europe, teemed with articles denunciatory of the speech of Mr. Chandler as insincere, or founded in ignorance or cowardice.

Professor McClintock was among the first to correct the error. He said, "if Mr. Chandler had been well informed on the subject, he would have told his auditors there are two parties in the Catholic Church on this question: one (the ultramontane party) affirming, and the other (the Gallican party) denying that the Pope, by reason of the spiritual power, has also a supreme power, at least indirectly, in temporal matters."

He then proceeds to state the relative strength of the two powers, and shows that the ultramontane is largely in the ascendancy, and that the Gallican party is a mere faction, which is rather tolerated than cherished by the church. Indeed, Gallicanism is stigmatized as the "half-way house to Protestantism."

Professor McClintock then says: .

* * * * *

"It remains for me briefly to set forth the present state of Roman Catholic opinion. The ultramontane doctrine is held, 1st, by the Pope; 2, by all the cardinals, without exception; 3, by all, or nearly all, the Italian bishops; 4, by a majority of the bishops of Germany, Spain, and Portugal; 5, by about two-thirds of the French bishops. Among the religious orders it is held,—1, by the Jesuits without exception, as no man can be admitted to the order who denies it; 2, by a majority of the members of the other (sixty or more) religious orders, which vie with each other in devotion to the Pope, each of them having a general at Rome. As for the Catholic journals,—1, the *Civito Catolica* at Rome was established for the very purpose of maintaining this theory, and does maintain it most effectually; 2, the *Historisch Politische Blatter*, the most eminent Papal journal in Germany, is strongly ultramontane; 3, the *Universe*, of Paris, is more ultramontane than Bellarmine; 4,

the Belgian papers, I think, without exception, are on that side; and 5, Brownson's Review, in this country, is what I have shown you above.

The American party deny that the Pope has any temporal or political power outside of his own dominions. They deny that the subjects or citizens of any other government owe him any political allegiance. They deny that the Pope has any power to depose sovereigns or to overthrow republics. They deny that he has a right to absolve citizens or subjects from their allegiance to their own government. And they utterly repudiate the idea that there is a paramount allegiance due to him which overrides their own government.

And as a corollary to these propositions, they are unwilling to vote for any man for public office, in this country, who holds the opposite, or ultramontane doctrine.

They hold that the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land, and no man who denies that proposition ought to hold office under it. They hold that our first, highest, and only political allegiance is due to our country, and that none is due to any other.

They disclaim and denounce "the higher law doctrines" in all their length and breadth, whether they exhibit themselves in abolition fanaticism at the North, or in the recognition of a higher allegiance to the sovereign of the States of the Church than is due to the government of our own country.

They require that when a man swears to support the Constitution of the United States, he shall do so in good faith, and according to its true spirit, and not with qualifications and mental reservations.

None, who are unwilling to conform to these requisitions, can receive the support of the American party.

Ah! but (say our adversaries) this recognition of the temporal power of the Pope is a part of the Catholic religion, and therefore you are interfering with their religious freedom! So, it may be said, polygamy is a part of the religious faith of the Mormons, and abolition is an element in the creed of Theodore Parker, H. W. Beecher, and others of their fanatical stripe! And would our adversaries be willing to elect a Mormon or an Abolitionist to high office? I presume not, and therefore the argument proves too much. No such device can be tolerated as that by blending obnoxious political sentiments with religious opinions, immunity can be claimed for both, under the broad shield of the freedom of religion!

The Americans are charged with dragging religion into the political arena. This is wholly untrue. Their steadfast aim is to keep religion out of the party contests of the day. They have manifested no aggressive spirit. Throughout they have been on the defensive. It was not until the organs of

the ultramontane branch of the Roman Church avowed their purpose to war on the freedom of religion—to strive to gain the ascendancy in this country, with the view to prostrate it at the footstool of Rome—to persecute Protestants—and for the accomplishment of these ends to vote as Catholics, and in a body, in such a way as to be most effective—that the Americans were roused to resistance.

No. 10.

In my last number I furnished some striking proofs of the extraordinary pretensions of the dominant party of the Romish Church, to temporal power in the Pope. Before passing from this point, I will add further evidence to support my position.

Brownson's Review is the accredited organ of that party. He ostentatiously parades the names of the archbishops and bishops on the cover of his book, to give the stamp of authenticity to its sentiments, and he inserts in it that "I never think of publishing anything in regard to the church, without submitting my articles to the bishop for inspection, approval, and endorsement." This declaration stands to the present day, uncontradicted, and, therefore, on every principle of evidence, must be taken to be true.

Let us then look to his pages for an exposition of the devotions of his church. In his number for January, 1853, he says:

"For every Catholic at least, the church is the supreme judge of the extent and limits of her power. She can be judged by no one; and this, of itself, implies her absolute supremacy, and that the temporal order must receive its law from her."

* * * * *

"Whenever the occasion occurred, she asserted her power, not to empty words only, but in deeds, to judge sovereigns, kings, and Cæsars, to bestow or to take away crowns, to depose ungodly rulers, and to absolve their oaths of allegiance."

Again, in the number for July, 1853, he says:

"The church is supreme, and you have no power except what you hold in subordination to her, either in spirituals or in temporals * * * you no more have political than ecclesiastical independence. The church alone, under God, is independent, and she defies both your powers and her own."

"They have heard it said from their youth up, that the church has nothing to do with politics, that she has received no mission in regard to the political order.

In opposing the nonjuring bishops and priests, they believed they were only asserting their national rights as men,

or as the state, and were merely resisting the unwarrantable assumption of the spiritual power. If they had been distinctly taught, that the political authority is always subordinate to the spiritual, and had grown up in the doctrine that the nation is not competent to define, in relation to the ecclesiastical power, its own rights—that the church defines both its powers and her own, and that though the nation may be, and ought to be independent, in relation to other nations, it has and can have no independence in the face of the church—the kingdom of God on earth; they would have seen at a glance, that to support the civil authority against the spiritual, no matter in what manner, was the renunciation of their faith as Catholics. and the actual or virtual assertion of the supremacy of the temporal power.”

In the same number, page No. 301, he says:

“She (the church) has the right to judge who has or who has not, according to the law of God, the right to reign—whether the prince has, by his infidelity, his misdeeds, his tyranny and oppression, forfeited his trust and lost his right to the allegiance of his subjects, and therefore whether they are still held to their allegiances, or are released from it by the law of God. If she have the right to judge, she has the right to pronounce judgment, and order its execution: therefore, to pronounce sentence of deposition upon the prince, who has forfeited his right to reign, and to declare his subjects absolved from the allegiance to him, and free to elect themselves a new sovereign.”

Can any man, who cherishes republican principles, tolerate sentiments like these? Is it not obvious that they are diametrically opposed to the cardinal doctrine which lies at the basis of all free institutions—viz.: the sovereignty of the people? According to that authoritative doctrine of Mr. Brownson, endorsed by his church,—all power is in the Pope. He is the supreme judge. If opposed the people must look to him for redress. They have no inherent and inalienable rights—and the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence are all dangerous falsehoods!

But let us now come to the more immediate purpose of this number, which is to show the aggressive spirit of the ultramontane Catholics—their hostility to freedom of religion—their intolerance of Protestantism—their interference in politics, and their determination, if possible, to bring this country under the dominion of Rome.

As early as 1844, the Catholics, as a body, took their stand in the political arena. The illustrious Henry Clay and the virtuous and pious Theodore Frelinghuysen, were the nominees of the Whig party for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. I am not aware that there was any particular hostility enter-

tained towards Mr. Clay, for at that time he was not a member of any church. But, Mr. Frelinghuysen was a member of the Presbyterian church, and what is more, he was the President of the Board of Foreign Missions!

This fact at once drew, not only upon him, but upon his distinguished associate, Mr. Clay, the bitter animosity of the Catholic press, and of the Catholic sect.

Brownson, in his number for July, 1844—in the heat of the contest, thus assailed Mr. Clay:

"He is ambitious but short-sighted. * * * He is abashed by no inconsistency, disturbed by no contradiction, and can defend, with a firm countenance, without the least misgiving, what everybody but himself sees to be a political fallacy or logical absurdity. * * * He is no more disturbed by being convicted of moral insensibility, than intellectual absurdity. * * * A man of rare abilities, but apparently void of both moral and intellectual conscience * * * and therefore a man whom no power under that of the Almighty can restrain; he must needs be the most dangerous man to be placed at the head of affairs it is possible to conceive."

It will be seen that the denunciations of Mr. Clay are all vague and declamatory. No special objection is taken to him, and it is obvious that the opposition was not so much to him as through him to Mr. Frelinghuysen. The Boston Pilot, another Catholic organ, discloses the plot in its number of 31st October, 1844—about five days before the election! Here is what it said: "We say to all men in the United States, entitled to be naturalized, become citizens while you can—let nothing delay you for an hour—let no hindrance, short of mortal disease, banish you from the ballot-box.—To those who are citizens, we say, *vote your principles*, whether they may be—never desert them—do not be wheeled or terrified—but vote quietly, seriously, and unobtrusively. Leave to others the noisy warfare of words. *Let your opinions be proved by your deliberate and determined action.* We recommend to you no party; we condemn no candidate but one, and he is Theodore Frelinghuysen. We have nothing to say to him as a Whig—we have nothing to say to Mr. Clay, or any other Whig, as such—but to the President of the American Board of Foreign Missions, the friend and patron of the Kirks and Cones, we have much to say. We hate his intolerance—we dislike his associates—and we shudder at the blackness and bitterness of that school of sectarians, to which he belongs, and amongst whom he is regarded as an authority."

Presbyterians! Do you hear that! And do you think that Americans are warring on civil and religious freedom, when they seek to rebuke sentiments of this character!

Appeals like these had their effect. The Catholics were rallied to the polls, and decided the election.

On the 9th November, 1844, Mr. Frelinghuysen wrote to Mr. Clay as follows: "More than 3000, it is confidently said, have been naturalized in this city (New York) alone since the 1st of October.—It is an alarming fact that this foreign vote has decided the great questions of American policy, and contracted a nation's gratitude."

But hear Brownson again:

"Heretofore we have taken our politics from one or another of the parties, which divided the country, and have suffered the enemies of our religion to impose their political doctrines upon us; but it is time for us to begin to teach the country itself those moral and political doctrines which flow from the teachings of our own church. We are at home here, wherever we may have been born; this is our country, and as it is to become thoroughly Catholic, we have a deeper interest in public affairs than any other of our citizens. The sects are only for a day, the church for ever!"

Here we have a candid declaration, from the accredited organ of the church, that thenceforth Catholicism is to be made an element in the party contests of the country. Catholic politics are to be taught by the press, and Catholic votes are to be employed to make the country "thoroughly Catholic."

True to his professions, and keeping his eye single to Catholic interests, we find Brownson alternately denouncing both the great parties of the country, and villifying measure their leading men.

Gen. Cass having made a speech in the Senate in favor of free worship and the rights of conscience for Americans abroad, Brownson, after commiserating his "confusion of ideas" and "drivelling," said in his number for October, 1852:

"We are glad to see Gen. Cass laid on the shelf, for we can never support a man who turns radical in his old age."

From this it would seem that Gen. Pierce was a special favorite of the Catholic Church, as he had taken pains to conciliate it by appointing one of its members to a position in his cabinet. But the moment a controversy arose between the United States and Catholic Austria, in regard to Kosta's case, we find Brownson, with the instincts of a Jesuit, making his religion paramount to his civil obligations, and taking sides against his own country. In his number for January, 1854, after reviewing the case, he says: "The secret of the whole transaction is not difficult to divine. It was to get up, if possible, a war with Austria, in accordance with the plans and ardent wishes of Ludwig Kossuth. For this purpose, we doubt not, Kosta returned, or was ordered by Kossuth to return to

Turkey, and very possibly with the knowledge and approbation of our jacobinial government!"

These passages are sufficient to show that the Catholic press and Catholic Church have avowed their purpose to enter the political arena, and to make their religion an element in the future party contests of the country.

Hear, too, how the "Freeman's Journal" invokes the Catholic Irish in this country to bear themselves:

"Irishmen learn in America to bide their time. Year by year the United States and England touch each other more and more nearly on the seas. Year by year the Irish are becoming more powerful in America. At length the propitious time will come;—some accidental, sudden collision, and a Presidential campaign at hand. We will use the very profligacy of our politicians for our purposes! They will want to buy the Irish vote, and we will tell them how they can buy it in a lump, from Maine to California, by declaring war on Great Britain, and wiping off at the same time the stains of concessions and dishonor that our Websters, and men of his kind, have permitted to be heaped upon the American flag by the violence of British agents."

Who can wink so hard as not to see that a religious and not a political war was in the mind of the writer—a war not to advance American interests but to promote the cause of Catholicism in Ireland, was the real object in contemplation!

Having thus shown the purpose of the organs of the Catholic Church, to become a party to the political contests of the country, with a view to the advancement of its interests, let us see in what way the power thus gained is to be employed—whether for the promotion of "the cause of civil and religious freedom, or for its overthrow."

The first authority which I will cite is the "Freeman's Journal," the mouthpiece of Archbishop Hughes. That journal, in speaking of the labors of Mr. Hastings, the Protestant chaplain of the American consulate at Rome, amiably remarked, that if he made a single convert "he would be kicked out of Rome, though Mr. Cass (our minister) should bundle up his traps and follow him!"

The Pittsburgh Catholic Visitor, referring to the same subject, said, "For our own part, we take this opportunity of explaining our hearty delight, at the suppression of the Protestant Chapel in Rome. This may be thought intolerant—but when, we would ask, did we ever profess to be tolerant to Protestantism, or to favor the doctrine that Protestantism ought to be tolerated? On the contrary we hate Protestantism—we detest it with our whole heart and soul, and we pray that our aversion to it may decrease. We hold it meet that in the Eternal City, no worship repugnant to God should be tol-

erated, and we are sincerely glad the enemies of truth are no longer permitted to meet together in the capital of the Christian world."

There certainly is a strong odor of religious freedom about these most Christian sentiments!

"The Rambler," another Catholic journal, thus expresses itself:

"You ask if he, the Pope, were lord in the land and you were in a minority, if not in number, yet in power, what would he do to you? That we say would depend entirely on circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism he would tolerate you—if expedient, he would imprison you—banish you—fine you—possibly hang you—but be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the 'glorious principles' of civil and religious liberty."

This is undoubtedly marked by a most commendable degree of candor! The Boston Pilot very ingenuously observes:

"No good government can exist without religion; and there can be no religion without an Inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith."

Brownson says:—"Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have, any rights where Catholicity is triumphant"—and again—"Let us dare to assert the truth in the face of the world, and instead of pleading for our church at the bar of the state, summon the state itself to plead at the bar of the church—is divinely constituted judge."

On the 15th of August, 1852, the Pope addressed to his followers an Encyclical letter, of which the following is an extract:

"The absurd and erroneous doctrine or ravings in defence of liberty of conscience, is a most pestilential error—a pest of all others, most to be dreaded in a state."

The Shepherd of the Valley, a leading paper, formerly published at St. Louis, Missouri, said:

"Protestantism of every description, Catholicity inserts in her catalogue of moral sins, she endures it when and where she must, but she hates it and directs all her energies to effect its destruction!"

Again, on 23d of Nov., 1851, that paper says:

"The church is of necessity intolerant. Heresy she endures when and where she must, but she hates it, and directs all her energies to its destruction. If Catholics ever gain an immense numerical majority, religious freedom in this country is at an end. So our enemies say. So we believe."

On the 22d of October, 1853, the same paper says:

"We think the 'masses' were never less happy, less respectable, and less respected, than they have been since the

Reformation, and particularly within the last fifty or one hundred years, since *Lord Brougham caught the mania of teaching them to read, and communicated the disease to a large portion of the English nation, of which, in spite of all our talk, we are too often the servile imitators.*"

The Rambler, in 1853, says:

"Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his religion, is one of the most wretched delusions ever foisted on this age by the father of all deceit."

Brownson, in his October number, 1852, page 456, says:

"The liberty of heresy and unbelief is not right. * * * All the rights the sects have, or can have, are derived from the state, and rest on expediency. As they have, in their character of sects hostile to the true religion, no rights under the law of nature or the law of God, they are neither wronged nor deprived of liberty, if the state refuses to grant them any rights at all!"

I shall now close with two extracts from the "Paris Universe," which Professor McClintock, in his reply to Mr. Chandler, speaks of us as a leading ultramontane journal. It says:

"A heretic, examined and convicted by the church, used to be delivered over to the secular power, and punished to death. Nothing has ever appeared to us more necessary. More than one hundred thousand persons perished in consequence of the heresy of Wickliffe; a still greater number for that of John Huss; and it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther, and it is not yet over.

"As for myself, what I regret, I frankly own, is that they did not burn John Huss sooner, and that they did not likewise burn Luther; this happened because there was not found some prince sufficiently politic to stir up a crusade against Protestantism."

The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. The remark applies to religious as well as to civil liberty. All we ask of the people is to be vigilant. Do not be so engrossed with the ordinary business of life, as to close your eyes to the important events that are transpiring around you. Watch with jealousy every measure which is calculated to abridge your political or religious freedom, and resist it at the threshold. Prevention is easier than cure. There are some measures that are so monstrous as to seem incredible; but history tells us that bloody persecution has, in former times, been the order of the day. Martyrdom has been suffered, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew's did take place, for religious opinion's sake. What has happened once may happen again. Let us, being forewarned, be likewise forearmed. Whilst we make no assaults on the liberty of others, let us not, by a blind sense of security, and a culpable neglect of duty, suffer our

own to be put in jeopardy. Such is the position of the American party. They feel no disposition to interfere with the faith or worship of the ultramontane Catholics, but they are unwilling, by elevating them to positions of trust and influence, to give them the power to trample upon the rights of Protestants."

Protestant immigrants to this continent claimed to have brought with them, *from England*, the principles established there by *Magna Charta*, and the Protestant Reformation. The Great Charter of Runnymede was a successful reassertion of ancient Anglo-Saxon liberties which Norman tyrants, backed by Popes, had trampled upon: the Reformation under Elizabeth was a triumph of religious liberty against Roman Catholic intolerance; and the Revolution of 1688 not only overthrew Roman dominion for the third time in England, but established the right of the people to dethrone one King and crown another.

Consequently, the literal historic truth, unrecognized or unacknowledged by the books, is, that the principles for which the War of Independence was fought, the principles embodied in the Articles of Confederation of the two unions preceding the present, and the Amendments to the Constitution of the existing Republic, are distinctly Protestant and anti-Papal!

The very Preamble, "We the People"—whether nationally considered, or by States—claims their inherent right to *make the law and the Government*. That fundamental doctrine, upon which all others depend, is profoundly, absolutely, and irreconcilably anti-Roman Catholic.

So, with free speech, free press, private judgment, State-controlled education, State guaranteed liberty of worship, State supremacy over the church—these are democratic doctrines, abhorrent to the Canon law of the despotic monarchy, known as the Church of Rome.

"We the People" make our government, frame our laws, choose our officials, manage our public affairs, subject to no King, kneeling to no Pope, acknowledging no Divine Right, save that which abides in *us*; and reserving the power to change laws, officers, and the government itself, whenever we see fit.

That's democracy—people's rule, people's law, people's policies, *for the people's benefit*.

To such a system, the Roman Church is the deadliest and most formidable foe; and to undermine it, she is now bending all her energies.

Her allies are, the Trusts, the Daily Press, the Tammany Politician, the Moneyed Aristocracy, and both the old political parties as now organized. To these, must be added the ig-

norant immigrant, the indifferent Protestant, the interlocked saloon interests, and the rich Jew of the big cities.

The enemies of Rome—enemies determined, tireless, and unconquerable—are the Spirit of the Times, which will not be debased by superstition; Woman's demand to be something more than the helpless chattel of a husband; Socialism, which voices the aspirations of pillaged producers; Democracy, which will shed its blood, before a despicable and detestable popish despotism shall rule this land. (T. E. W.)

No. 11.

Mr. Wise, in his letter, says:

"We gladly took them (the Whigs) in exchange for the renegade Democrats, who sneaked from their former friends, and took a test oath in the secrecy of the culvert, by the light of a dark lantern."

It seems to me that Mr. Wise is somewhat harsh upon his old political friends. The term "renegade," to say the least of it, is by no means courteous, and the charge that they "sneaked away," is liable to the same criticism. It is true that many independent and upright Democrats, dissatisfied with the principles and policy of the Democratic party, left it, as did many of the Whigs, and joined the American party. But I was not before aware that it was such a heinous offence for a free citizen of this great republic to change his party relations. I did not know that the shackles of party allegiance were not to be thrown off without incurring the odium of being "renegades," and subjecting themselves to the denunciation of having "sneaked away." I had thought that with all true patriots the obligation to country was stronger than that to party. That parties were mere instruments to subserve the best interests of the country, and that it was not only the right but the duty of every patriot to leave his party when he thought it was not ministering to the good of his country.

The right to change his party relations, is one which has been exercised by Mr. Wise himself, and by hundreds of others, now high in the confidence of the Democratic party. Where was there a more bold, eloquent, and fearless champion of Whig principles than Mr. Wise himself? His noble sentiment, "the union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union," thrilled the heart of every Whig in the nation; and yet Mr. Wise left the Whig party, and is now the accredited champion of the party which he once so vehemently opposed. Surely Mr. Wise ought to extend the same toleration and charity to others, who have thought proper to change their political relations, which he claims for himself. He would

hardly fancy the epithet of "renegade," or the charge of having "sneaked away from his former friends" if applied to himself, and he should therefore abstain from applying them to others.

But it seems to me the Democrats who left their party, and joined the Americans, have at least given the strongest evidence that they did not, like the brethren of Joseph, "go down into Egypt" after "corn!" They could not have been influenced by selfish motives, or the hope of advancement. They left a powerful party, flushed with a triumph unparalleled in the history of our country, and attached themselves to a new one, which could hold out to them no hopes of promotion. Surely this is the highest evidence of disinterestedness, and should at least protect them from imputations of improper motives. If the case had been reversed,—if they had left a party whose fortunes were on the wane, to join one in the zenith of its prosperity,—able to confer high offices and rich rewards, then suspicion might have attached to their motives. But such not being the fact, justice and charity alike concur in according to them the credit of being influenced by high and patriotic principles.

Did not Mr. Wise himself, in the canvass of 1852, contend that the failure of the Whig National Convention, to nominate Mr. Fillmore, was such an outrage on the party as to absolve its members from their allegiance? Was not Mr. Fillmore *then* the choice of the Whigs of Virginia? Was he not universally conceded to be a conservative,—constitution-loving, law-abiding, and law-enforcing chief magistrate? Did he not fulfill every requisition of the Jeffersonian test?—was he not honest and capable, and faithful to the Constitution? Did he not perform all his duties to the South and to the North with strict fidelity and impartiality? Did he not restore harmony to a distracted country? Did he not see that the laws were faithfully executed? Did he not maintain the honor of our country inviolate at home and abroad? Did he pander to sectional prejudices, or seek by duplicity—looking one way and rowing another—to conciliate popularity for himself? Was he not bold, straight-forward, manly, and true?

When the Whig party, after the defeat of 1852, retired from the field, Mr. Fillmore had to choose between the American party, whose principles he had approved as early as 1844 (as appears by his letter to Mr. Clay in that year), and the Democracy. I have no doubt that Mr. Fillmore was attached to the Whig party. He had been nurtured in its lap; he had been reared in its conservative principles; he had proudly borne its banner both in victory and defeat; he had learned wisdom at the feet of its great sages, Webster and

Clay. Mr. Fillmore's opposition to Democracy was a matter of principle, not of expediency. It was not a thing that he could pick up, or lay down, as interest or caprice might prompt. He had denounced its tyranny, its misrule, its disregard of the Constitution—its reckless extravagance—from the conviction that his denunciations were just. He could not, therefore, when the old adversary of that party retired from the conflict, eat his own words; retract his own charges, and falsify his whole life, by affiliating with a party which he had contended to be unworthy of trust. Interest might have dictated such a course, but duty and patriotism forbade it. Mr. Fillmore saw the Democracy, in violation of all its pledges, renewing the agitation of the slavery question, which he had compromised—opening the floodgates of sectional strife, and endangering the peace and security of the Union. Knowing that the only available power to stay the torrent which threatened to overwhelm the country, was the American party, with the energy and promptness which distinguish him, he extended the right hand of fellowship to it, and sought to aid it in the fulfillment of its great mission of peace.

(Note: On the death of President Zachary Taylor in 1850, Millard Fillmore, Vice-President, succeeded him.

Mr. Fillmore was the "Know Nothing" candidate for President in 1856, and Andrew Jackson Donelson accepted the second place on the ticket. He was the adopted son of Gen. Andrew Jackson. T. E. W.)

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

From *The Southern Review*, of January, 1876, I take the following lucid and exhaustive history of that famous agreement about which there has been such wide disagreements and rancorous discussions:

Dr. A. T. Bledsoe, the learned author, uses the editorial "we" and "our", throughout:

1. *How we began to study the great quarrel between the North and the South.* In the year 1860, while under the dark shadow of the impending war, we heard a Professor of Law, in one of our Southern Universities, very positively and confidently declare, that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was a Southern measure: that it had been religiously observed, by the whole country, as a sacred compact for more than thirty years; and that, notwithstanding all this, the South had, for a purely sectional advantage, procured its repeal, by an act of the most infamous bad faith. These words filled us with astonishment. But we were not in a condition to make a re-

ply; because we were, in fact, ignorant as to whether the terrible accusation was true or false. We had fondly believed, it is true, that all was well with the fair South; that her honor was without stain or reproach. But then we had never examined the subject; and consequently, for aught we knew to the contrary, she might be the foul thing which one of her own distinguished sons had declared her to be. He ought to know; he was a Professor of Law; and, as it seemed to us, he could have no possible motive to misrepresent her conduct, unless it were the self-righteous desire to appear better than his neighbors. Perhaps he is right. It is certain that we know nothing on the subject.

We determined to examine the history of the Missouri Compromise; and, if possible, ascertain for ourselves *the exact truth*. We resolved, at the same time, that if, after a careful investigation, it should appear that the accusation of the learned Professor of Law was true, we would not stand with the South in the evidently on-coming conflict of arms. We did not resolve, it is true, to stand with the North; because it was impossible for us to join her in a war against our own section, our own friends, our own firesides and homes. But, on the other hand, it was equally impossible for us, to unite, even with the South, in the defence of an infamously bad cause.

Accordingly, we studied the history of the Missouri Compromise, from its first inception to its passage in 1820, and from its passage in 1820 to its repeal in 1854. There is not a motion, nor a resolution, nor a speech, nor a vote relating to the subject, in all the annals of Congress, which we did not carefully examine, according to the best of our ability, with a view to ascertaining the exact truth, and the clear line of duty. In the prosecution of this inquiry, it is, perhaps, too much to claim that we paid no regard to consequences, for we are at best weak and fallible creatures. But, if we are not greatly mistaken, no paltry considerations of self, or fortune, or reputation influenced our decision. It is certain, that after the examination was finished, and our conclusion was formed, we experienced an inexpressible relief; for we then felt, that we could not only stand, but, if need be, we could also fall, with the devoted South. Her honor, at least in so far as the Missouri Compromise was concerned, appeared to us absolutely immaculate. We breathed the more freely; because, as every one knows, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise served as the signal for the great war of 1861.

But while our studies relieved our mind of one very great burden, they oppressed it with another. Like most other private persons, we had devoted ourselves to the duties and studies connected with our individual vocation in life, and

left the public affairs of the country to the management and study of its public men. We had hoped and believed, that the rights and interests, the prosperity and glory of the country, were safe in the hands of its great (so-called) leaders and guides. But, in the course of our investigations, we became deeply and painfully impressed with the fact, that none of our great men had really studied the history of the country with an eye single to its welfare and prosperity. On the contrary, the very men in whom we had formerly placed the greatest confidence, such as Story and Webster, appeared to us to be the most radically deficient in their historical studies, and the most time-serving in their views and sentiments. They were partisans, far more than patriots; and sophists, far more than statesmen. Those who have read our work entitled, '*Is Davis a Traitor; or was Secession a Constitutional Right?*' have already seen abundant and overwhelming proofs that such was the real character of our two great Northern lights, and guiding stars of our ill-omened destiny.

But this was not the most painful discovery made by us. Far more distressing, indeed, was the unwelcome discovery, that none of our Southern statesmen, not even John C. Calhoun, had faithfully discharged his duty to his country and to the cause of constitutional freedom throughout the world, by a close, earnest, laborious research into the facts of our political history. This will appear, we think, with great clearness from the ensuing pages of this article. If Southern thinkers, writers, and statesmen had done their duty, there would have been no Professor of Law among us, to utter calumnies against his own section; nor thousands of others, like ourselves, without the knowledge to meet and refute such utterly unfounded accusations. The voices of the North had not found so many echoes at the South; and the world had not been flooded with lies by the newspapers, the politicians, and the pulpits of the North, and thereby incurably prejudiced against the weaker section of 'the more perfect Union.'

As it was, however, tradition usurped the place of truth; and calumny superseded the reign of charity. John Adams was right. The second President of the United States never uttered a truer truth, than when he wrote to an Abolitionist friend in England, that, however great the evil of slavery, it was not the greatest evil under which this country labored, and which was the most likely to call down the vengeance of heaven on a guilty land. That greatest of all evils, said he, is not the sin of slavery; it is 'the sin of lying.' Abolitionist though he was, it was this awful sin, which he beheld on all sides around him, that filled his soul with horror, and darkened all his patriotic hopes with dreadful apprehensions of the wrath of heaven.

The prevalence of this horrible vice, has been nowhere more destructive than in relation to the great quarrel between the two sections—the North and the South—of the United States.

1. *The great struggle in relation to the Missouri Compromise of 1820.* We have seen no less than thirteen School Histories of the United States, written by Northern pens, in nearly every one of which it is confidently asserted, that Henry Clay was the author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820; just as if this were a universally known truth. The person who invented this tradition is not known. But, however obscure its origin, its prevalence became all but universal in both sections of the country. We have seen it in the 'Life and Times of Henry Clay', by Mr. Prentice, of Kentucky; and we have heard it from the lips of Southern scholars and statesmen, as well as read it in School Histories for our children. Now is it not truly wonderful, that here, in this nineteenth century, with so many sources of illumination blazing on all sides around us—newspapers, preachers, politicians, and books of all sorts and sizes—such a tradition should have become so universal?

'Not at all wonderful,' once said one of the most distinguished men of the South to us, '*for it is true.*' 'True!' we exclaimed, 'why, my dear sir, have I not just assured you, that it is flatly contradicted by the annals of Congress?' 'The annals of Congress!' he replied; 'I *reckon* I ought to know; I was there when the Compromise was passed.' 'You amaze me, sir', he cried; 'do you tell me that I don't know that Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was the author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820? Why, sir, every child in the country knows *that*.' 'I beg your pardon, my good sir, nobody knows it. You have heard the story so often, and perhaps repeated it so often, that you *think* you know it is true. But it is all a mistake.

Mr. Clay himself, in his place in the Senate of the United States, publicly declared that he was *not* the author of the Compromise in question; and expressed his surprise that it should ever have been attributed to him as its author. He added, at the same time, and in the same public manner, that when the Missouri Compromise was before Congress, he was the Speaker of the House of Representatives; that he took no part whatever in relation to its passage; that he had not introduced it; that he had made no speech in its favor; and that he expressed no opinion as to its merits; that Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, and not himself, was its author.'

Yet, in spite of all this, the people of the North will have it, that Mr. Clay was the author of the Missouri Compromise of 1820; and the people of the South will believe them. No won-

der; for even after Mr. Clay's public disclaimer, and his appeal to the records of the country, most of the aforesaid School Histories, if not all, were written for *the instruction* of the rising generation! But this is only one instance out of a thousand, which demonstrate the necessity of a true political history of the United States, founded on the records of the country, in order to correct the false traditions by which the people have been so long deceived and misled.

Times and ways without number, the Missouri Compromise has been held up as a Southern measure, in order to enhance the supposed infamy and guilt of its repeal by Southern men. It has been lauded and magnified as one of the splendid jewels in the crown of the great Kentuckian, so well known to the universe as 'the Great Pacificator', which a wicked race of rebels, belonging to his own section, had plucked from the diadem of his glory, and trampled in the mud and mire of Southern treason.

But the above tradition, however false, is a mere trifle, when compared with another relating to the same great measure. True, it was black enough in itself; but then it was 'a white lie', and fair as the morn, in contrast with the stupendous falsehood, and diabolical fraud, by which the people were deceived, and prepared to do the work of devils in the devastation and ruin of the country. It was but an echo of this stupendous falsehood and fraud, which we have seen in the accusation of his own section, by the aforesaid learned Professor of Law.

About the origin of this last tradition, there is no sort of obscurity whatever. It was concocted by three men—the grand triumvirate of the Republican faction—and by them simultaneously sent forth to stir up the passions of the multitude, and kindle them into furious flames of war. We allude, of course, to the names of Seward, Sumner, and Chase. They are all now in their graves. *Requiescat in pace!* But while we say this, we must be permitted, as far as in us lies, to seek, by the dissemination of truth, the peace and prosperity of the country, in which they so industriously sowed the seeds of discord, disunion, and war.

The Republican faction arose, as all its leaders allege, out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. That repeal was made, indeed, the occasion of the grand inquest and indictment of the North against the South. But how was that indictment tried—by an appeal to history, or to the records of the country? No, indeed, but by an appeal, in the first place, to the passions of the multitude; and, in the second place, by an appeal to arms. This, as every one knows, decided the fortunes of war against the South. But it did not overthrow a single fact of the past, nor a single truth of history; much less did it shake the throne of God. Before that awful

THRONE lies *our* appeal; and we now summon our accusers to meet us there.

According to every principle of law and justice, the record itself should have been produced, and read in open court. This was certainly the best and most reliable method of arriving at the truth. But yet, instead of this, the record is studiously kept out of sight, while the accused is found guilty, and condemned, on the testimony of the accusers! Ay, on the testimony of as bitter, as vindictive, and as relentless accusers as the New World has ever seen. 'The poison of asps was under their lips'; and, if we judge from their testimony, 'there was no fear of God before their eyes.'

In the words of Mr. Seward, 'not, indeed, that it [a legislative compromise] is absolutely irrepealable, but that it cannot be repealed without *a violation of honor, justice, and good faith, which it is presumed will not be committed*'. 'Such', he adds, 'was the Compromise of 1820'; in regard to which he accused the South of 'a violation of honor, justice, and good faith'. In like manner, Mr. Chase, while United States Senator from Ohio, said, 'And what does slavery ask for now? Why, sir, it demands, that a time-honored compact, *which has been universally regarded as inviolable, North and South—a compact, the constitutionality of which few have doubted, and by which all have consented to abide, shall be violated*'. How adroitly this question is put! 'What does *slavery* ask for now?' Ay, what does slavery—that odious snake of hell—ask for now? Why, if we may believe Mr. Chase, it asks for the 'violation' of 'a compact *more sacred* than the Constitution itself'. If the Old Serpent had wished from the multitude, a false response to his question, could he have addressed it more adroitly, or cunningly, to their passions?

But the worst is to come. A manifesto went forth from Washington, signed by the Hon. Salmon P. Chase and the Hon. Charles Sumner, preferring the same charge against the South, under the name of *slavery*, *alias* the aforesaid snake of hell, and calling upon all the multitudes of the North to unite in a holy crusade to crush the head of the hideous monster. The call was heard, and obeyed. The preachers of the North, especially, heard the call, and rushed into the arena of strife with an enthusiasm and zeal which seemed to know no bounds. Inexpressibly fierce was the crusade they preached against the honor and good faith of the South for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and against the Northern Senator by whom the measure was proposed. Indeed, of all the causes of discord, by which the country was convulsed on the eve of the war, *none was more conspicuous than the conduct of the clergy*.

The burden of their war-cry was the 'repeal of the Missouri Compromise'; of the 'compact more sacred than the Constitu-

tion itself', which they had caught from their political teachers a measure, they denounced as so immoral, and so infamous, that it became all the teachers and preachers of righteousness to join the holy crusade against the abomination. Hence, 'in the name of Almighty God', three thousand and five preachers from New England alone came forth 'to exhort and rebuke' the Senate of the United States for its nefarious conduct in regard to that repeal; and, for this purpose, they signed and sent a remonstrance to that branch of the American Legislature! Others followed the example. A similar paper, exhorting and rebuking the Senate, proceeded from the city of Chicago; which had the honor of entertaining the Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency.

Even the Rev. Charles Hodge, D. D., of Princeton, the eminent divine and theologian, joined the grand army of confessors, and hurled his political darts into the arena of mortal strife. And yet, we fearlessly venture to affirm, that he knew no more about the history of the Missouri Compromise, then sleeping quietly in the unsearched records of the country, than if it had never been written. All he knew about it—absolutely all—were the lying traditions, which he had picked up from partisan newspapers, or politicians. The 'momentous questions' at issue, said he, should be 'examined in the fear of God'; and yet he had never examined them at all.

He affected to write with the dignified calmness of a philosopher, and he claimed for his utterances the holy sanctions of religion; but yet, as History herself testifies, his political darts were dipped in the flaming poison of falsehood.

In January 1861, he put forth a paper 'On the State of the Country', in which he says: 'It matters not', say the Republicans, 'whether the Missouri Compromise Act was constitutionally obligatory as a law; *it was binding as a compact. It had been voluntarily formed; it had been regarded as sacred for thirty years; to set it aside for the sake of a sectional advantage was regarded as a violation of honor and good faith. * * * It was a conviction of the truth of these facts, which called into existence the Republican party. * * * The facts above-mentioned affected the conscience of the people of the North, and the condemnation of these acts was the whole significance of their vote, first, for Fremont, and then for Lincoln. * * * The whole North with quiet consciences acquiesced in that compromise*'; and '*the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise is the immediate source of all our present troubles*'.

In these words (which it is no part of our present purpose to refute), we have the indictment upon which the South, already condemned as 'the slave power', was arraigned, tried, convicted, and crucified. No doubt the celebrated divine of Princeton, and all the other war divines, most religiously be-

lieved it to be true; and hence their consciences were most grievously offended. Nay, in most cases, this belief wrought their minds into a frenzied state of excitement, indignation, and wrath. Scarcely, in the history of the world, has such a storm of vituperation and abuse been poured upon any people, as was let loose upon the South for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The politicians, the press, and the pulpit, all united in a fierce crusade against the South, in consequence of the *supposed* dishonor and infamy, which that grand act of unparalleled perfidy had brought upon her. If half they said was true, the South deserved to be blotted from existence. We heard that awful prelude to the war. We heard the whole land, north of the Potomac, resounding with loud torrents of abuse, which came rolling down and roaring against the South like a wild world of waters let loose for her destruction. But this did not move us; because we had examined 'the truth of these *facts*', as they are called, and we knew them to be *fiction*s.

We consequently beheld, on a grand scale, the truth of the memorable saying of St. Augustine, that 'fiction is the wine of devils'. We beheld the whole North drunk with this wine, and raging for blood. The demagogues instigated by the Devil, and the divines instigated by the demagogues, stirred up the angry passions of the multitude, and kindled them into the furious flames of war. We only wonder, that our heart did not burst with the big distress which this awful spectacle caused us to endure.

But what could we do? What could our poor, feeble breath avail against such a storm? We did our best, however; and when a great friend and admirer of Dr. Hodge, sent a copy of his manifesto from New York to the University of Virginia, and challenged that great seat of learning for a reply, we accepted the challenge. But who ever read our reply? A few persons—perhaps a dozen—must have done so; for they wrote us letters, the substance of which may be stated in the words of one of them:—'I did not see how Dr. Hodge could be answered; but it seems that you did'. They all concurred in thanking us for our 'overwhelming and crushing reply to Dr. Hodge'. Even his New York friend, after reading that reply, confessed that he was amazed and mortified, that Dr. Hodge, 'not a newspaper editor, nor a political partisan, but a philosopher and a divine', (as he had described him in his challenge,) should have committed such egregious and disgraceful blunders in regard to *facts*.

But yet our reply, though founded upon the *facts* of history, was lost as a feeble whisper amid the loud-roaring tornadoes of *fiction*.

The most sorrowful conclusion to which, after the wonder-

ful and instructive experience of the last fifteen years, we have been constrained to come, is, that the intellectual pride and indolence of the South has been one of the main causes of her ruin. If she had done her duty, for instance, in regard to the history of the Missouri Compromise, the lying traditions of demagogues could not have effected half the mischief they did, either at the North or at the South. For every *fiction*, which their malignity kindled into a flame, might have been easily put out by an extinguisher of *fact*; that is to say if the South had been on the alert, and ready with the results of laborious research to do this kind of work.

Mr. Webster, in his address of 1835, says: 'The North finds itself, in regard to the relative influence of the South and the North, of the free States and the slave States, where it did not expect to find itself, when they agreed to the compact of the Constitution'. Now this statement, is so far from being true, that it is diametrically opposed to the clearest and most incontestable facts of history. And yet this bold statement stands, to this day, not only unrefuted, but unchallenged, by any of our public men. No one of them has even attempted to show, that the very reverse of Mr. Webster's statement is emphatically true. For, in regard to the relative influence of the North and the South, of the free States and the slave States, the South found itself, where it did not expect to find itself, when the States 'entered into the compact of the Constitution'. Let us see, if this is not true.

Let us see, I. where the South expected to find herself, when she 'entered into the compact of the Constitution'? and II. where she did find herself in the so-called 'more perfect Union'? Both of these questions may be easily answered, by an appeal to the records of the country; and yet, although these answers constitute, by far, the most powerful and unanswerable of all the justifying grounds of secession, has no advocate of secession ever alluded to them, or to the facts on which they are founded. Neither Calhoun, nor Davis, nor Stephens, nor Toombs, nor Benjamin, nor any other statesman of the South, has ever made the least allusion to this, the strongest and most unanswerable of all the pleas in favor of secession. Indeed, both Mr. Davis and Mr. Stephens have publicly declared, that there was no antagonism between the North and the South in the Convention of 1787; and that consequently, in framing 'the compact of the Constitution', that body had made no attempt to adjust the balance of power between the two sections of the Union. But this only proves that neither of these distinguished gentlemen had ever read the debates of that illustrious assembly of American legislators.

In the Convention of 1787, Mr. Madison said: 'He admitted

that every peculiar interest, whether in any class of citizens, or any description of States, ought to be secured as far as possible. *Wherever there is danger of attack, there ought to be given a constitutional power of defence.* But he contended that the States were divided into different interests, not by their difference of size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted partly from climate, but *principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves.* These two causes concurred in forming *the great division of interests in the United States.* It did not lie between the large and small States. *It lay between the Northern and Southern; and if any defensive power were necessary, it ought to be mutually given to these two interests.* He was so strongly impressed with this important truth, that he had been casting about in his mind for some expedient that would answer the purpose.

This admirable speech opened the great struggle for power between the North and the South, between the free States and the slave States. No one doubted the antagonism of interest and feeling, which then existed between the two sections; and the principles laid down by Mr. Madison, were so obviously reasonable and just, that they secured the approbation and concurrence of every member of the Convention. After an animated discussion, the great antagonism was adjusted, and the balance of power was established by giving each section a defensive check on the aggressive disposition of the other.

The North was to have a majority in the Senate, and the South in the House of Representatives; so that no law could be enacted without the concurrence of both sections of the new Union. Such was the *avowed* design of the Convention. The design was good; but the execution was imperfect. The South was promised, and expected to possess, in the new Union, the permanent control of one branch of Congress, while the North possessed the control of the other branch thereof. Such an arrangement was deemed essential, by the Convention, to the independence, freedom, and happiness of each section in the 'more perfect Union'. But was this expectation realized? Or, in other words, did the South find herself in regard to her relative influence, or power, in the new Union, where she expected to find herself, when she 'entered into the compact of the Constitution'? This leads to the consideration of our second question.

II. Where did the South find herself in the new Union? The answer to this question, shows an entire failure of the design of the Convention, in relation to the situation of the South in the 'more perfect Union.' It shows, in one word, that, in the view of the Convention, she soon lost the independence, freedom, happiness, and safety, which had been promised her in the new Union; that she held her rights and

interests at the mercy of the North, and not by virtue of any 'defensive power' for her own protection and security. Mr. Webster asserts, that the North had lost the relative influence, or power, which it rightfully expected to enjoy, when it 'entered into the compact of the Constitution.' Now, any one in possession of the facts of the case, might have replied as follows: This statement of Mr. Webster, is one in which there is not one shred or patch of truth. The truth is, on the contrary, that the South has lost 'the defensive power', which was promised to her, and which she rightfully expected to enjoy, when she entered into that compact. She was promised, and expected to enjoy, in the new Union, a majority of votes in the House of Representatives, as a check on the controlling power of the North in the Senate. But this majority, this 'defensive power', this check on the power of the North, she never possessed.

It was considered by the Convention of 1787, essential to her independence, her freedom, her prosperity, her peace, and happiness in the new Union; and, for this sacred purpose, the Convention designed that it should be possessed, held, and enjoyed by the South. But, yet, instead of this majority in the House, the South had, at the time of Mr. Webster's statement in 1835, or even five years before that time, only 100 votes in the House, while the North had 141 votes in the same body; making a majority of 41 votes in favor of the North! At the time of secession, or even ten years before, the North had a majority of 54 votes in the House! How completely, then, had the relative influence of the South, and not of the North, declined in the new Union! How completely had the promised, and expected safeguard of her independence, freedom, prosperity, peace, and happiness in the new Union been swept away, by the course of events! How completely, in other words, had the most fundamental and important provision of 'the compact of the Constitution', according to the design of its authors, proved a disastrous failure as to the South; leaving her defenceless in the new Union, and holding all her most sacred rights and interests at the mercy of the North! Yet, in profound ignorance of all this, Mr. Webster complains, that the North had lost *her* relative influence, or power, in the new Union! that she found herself, where she did not expect to find herself, when she 'entered into the compact of the Constitution'! There stood the South, naked and defenceless, robbed of her just rights and hopes in the new Union; and yet Mr. Webster, 'the great defender of the Constitution', and of all sections under the Constitution, complains bitterly that the poor North had been thus stripped, and robbed, and left comparatively defenceless in the new Union! All this was sad enough. But, infinitely sadder still, there was

no living voice at the South, which came forth to refute the stupendous falsehood.

Even in Mr. Calhoun's eloquent 'Discourse on the Government of the United States', which he left for publication after his death, there is no allusion whatever, not even the most faint or distant, to this grand and unanswerable defence of the South; though the discourse was written with reference to the great debate between himself and Mr. Webster in 1833. He knew, as well as did Mr. Madison himself, or the Convention of 1787, that without a 'defensive power' in the Union, the South was robbed of her independence, freedom, prosperity, peace, and happiness. But he did not know, that this accorded with the view of Mr. Madison, and the Convention that framed 'the compact of the Constitution'; because he had not read the debates of that great Convention. Hence, he could not reply to Mr. Webster's utterly unfounded statement, much less crush, as he might have done, his stupendous falsehood, by turning the tables in favor of truth.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, like Mr. Calhoun, saw the great importance of the question of the balance of power between the North and the South; but he was, also, equally ignorant of the fact, that this great question had engaged the attention of the Convention of 1787. This is evident from a speech, which, in 1850, he delivered in the Senate of the United States. He there says:—"The idea of the balance of power, as it existed originally, was between the States, between the great States and the small States, *and not between the sections*. The sectional agitation is *the growth of a subsequent generation to that which formed the Constitution*. The danger is one of our own times, and it is the sectional division of the people which creates the necessity of looking to the question of the balance of power, and which carries with it, when disturbed, *the danger of disunion*". [Congressional Globe, vol. xxii. part ii. p. 1539.]

Now if Mr. Davis had only read *The Madison Papers*, he must have seen, that this 'sectional division of the people' showed itself in the Convention of 1787, by which the Constitution was formed, and that it was made the ground of the most fundamental compact between the States, *between 'the free States and the slave States', between the North and the South*.

But the case is still worse with Stephens. In his '*Constitutional View of the War between the States; its Causes, Character, Conduct, and Results*', he entirely ignores the question of the balance of power between the sections, or the North and the South, as having nothing whatever to do with the origin of the War. Nor is this all. For, when we assured him, in our review of his work, that the balance of power between the North and the South engaged the attention of the legislators of 1787, and was attempted to be adjusted by them, he ridiculed

the idea as an ignorant invention of our own. The rashness of his ridicule was all the more wonderful, because it flew directly in the face of *The Madison Papers*, in which are recorded the proceedings and debates of the Convention that formed the Constitution. But as we have already, in the pages of *THE SOUTHERN REVIEW*, for July, 1872, exposed this astounding blunder of his temerity, as well as others of the same description, we shall here dismiss the subject.

We have introduced his name here, in connection with the names of Calhoun and Davis, in order to show that the history of the great conflict between the North and the South has not, as yet, been studied, much less written.

We cannot find more fitting words, in which to conclude this paper, than may be found in this *Review*, for April, 1867, the subject of 'The Origin of the Late War'. 'This history', we there say, 'consists of seven great crises. The first of these convulsed the Union, and threatened its dissolution before the new Constitution was formed, or conceived. For how little soever its history may be known, the North and the South, like Jacob and Esau, struggled together, and that too with almost fatal desperation, in the womb of the old Union. Slavery had nothing at all to do with that struggle between the North and the South, the *dramatis personae* of the great tragedy of 1861. It was solely and simply a contest for power, not 'in a subsequent generation to that which formed the Constitution', but before the Constitution was formed. The study of this great struggle between the North and the South, during the pre-constitutional period of our history, throws a marvellous light on the real character of all their subsequent contests for power.

'The second great crisis was the formation and adoption of the new Constitution. Much has been said about that event, as the most wonderful event in the history of the world; because the government of a great people was then radically changed by purely peaceable means, and without shedding a drop of blood. But if that was a bloodless revolution in itself, no one, who has maturely considered it in all its bearings, can deny that it was, in the end, the occasion of the most sanguinary conflict in the annals of a fallen world'. Few events, if any, have ever been so much talked of, and so little studied, as 'the formation of the new Constitution of 1787'. Even the best informed politicians in America, such as a Calhoun and a Davis, did not study the history of that great transaction sufficiently, in order to ascertain that any antagonism between the two sections, the North and the South, manifested itself in the Convention of 1787, much less that its adjustment constituted *avowedly* the greatest of all the difficulties in the way of forming the 'more perfect Union'.

Yet, as we have already said, 'if we are not greatly mistaken, the antagonism between the North and the South, so imperfectly adjusted by the labors of 1787, is the true standpoint from which to contemplate the origin of the late war. This antagonism, this cause of discord, stamped its image on all the other causes of the late war. It drew into itself all other causes, and raged with the violence of them all'. In one word, then, this struggle for power between the two sections, was the great *causa causans* of the war of 1861. It was the *destruction* of the balance of power, which the legislators of 1787 designed to establish between the two hostile sections, that produced the secession of the South; because she *felt* that, with the loss of a 'defensive power' in the Union, she had also lost 'the independence, the freedom, the prosperity, the peace, and the happiness', which that 'defensive power' was given to secure, by the legislators of 1787. And it was the lust of power, 'pursued for the gratification of avarice and ambition, and the consequent violence of parties when once engaged in the contest, which kindled the flames of the war of coercion in the North. Other causes, it is true, co-operated with this; but yet this was, after all, the great *causa causans* of the bloody war of coercion. Hence, to write a history of the causes of the late war, as Greeley, Stephens, and others have done, without any notice of the great question of the balance of power, is unspeakably worse than the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted.

After noticing the other five great crises of our history, we say, 'Each of these seven crises had, of course, its prelude and its sequel, without a knowledge of which it cannot be comprehended, or seen how it followed the preceding, and how it led to the succeeding, crisis in the chain of events. Now some of these crises are most imperfectly understood by the public, while others are most perfectly misunderstood.' Some, especially the most important of all, 'are overlaid with a mass of lying traditions such as the world has seldom seen; traditions invented by party politicians, and industriously propagated by the press and the pulpit. If these traditions were cleared away, and the facts which lie beneath them brought to view, the revelation would be sufficient to teach both sections of the Union the profoundest lessons of humiliation and sorrow. If patiently and properly studied, the history of the United States is, perhaps, fraught with as many lessons for the warning and instruction of mankind, as that of any nation since the fall of Rome, or since the flood, or since the fall of man.'

It has been exceedingly painful to dwell, as we have done in this paper, on the deplorable shortcomings of our public men; especially of those most devoted to the great cause of

constitutional liberty and law. It is not because we love them the less, but because we love our country the more, that we have signalized their astonishing lack of research, and painstaking industry, in regard to the great facts connected with the struggle between the North and the South.

(Mr. Stephens, in his "War Between the States", and in his Congressional speeches, proved that the Missouri Compromise had been repeatedly ignored and violated by the North.—T. E. W.)

CHAPTER V.

WHAT IS MONEY? HOW CREDITED AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE.

"The Goths and the Vandals of the future will gather at the street corners of our cities," said, in substance, Lord Macaulay. Not so. There is no danger from the squalid denizens of the slums. The ragged cohorts of the cellars and the garrets and the ash barrels can never rise above petty larceny, one-horse riots, sporadic murder and occasional pillage. From that direction we need expect no organized attack upon property, no revolution that shall subvert the Government, no avalanche of invasion which shall destroy civilization.

The danger lies in the opposite direction. The Goths and the Vandals of modern life are the law-defying Wall Streeters. They invade every province of industry and despoil it. They force the gates of every city and compel tribute. They carry off from every mart of trade the booty they most covet. In their triumphal march follows the train of captives—the helpless and hopeless debtors.

And as these wretched captives, torn from their plows, torn from their shops, torn from the sunlight, the freedom and the joy of life follow in the train of their masters and enter the fatal Wall Street hell, each seems to read the stern legend written upon the portals, "Leave all hope behind, ye who enter here."

I fear no revolution arising from the poor. The revolution I fear is coming from Wall Street. Through the power of money, which can throttle intrinsic values, and the power of the Trust, which can arbitrarily assess other men's earnings, and the power of the corporation, which can tax the profit out of every other man's business, these Wall Streeters, if not curbed by a revolt of the people at the ballot box, will work a revolution which may never spill a drop of blood, but which will inevitably change, radically and ruinously, the spirit and purpose of this democratic Republic.

WHY "REAL" MONEY MUST BE BETTER THAN "UNREAL."

(By *Albert Griffin, Topeka, Kans.*)

To many people, the statement that fully three fourths of the money upon which interest is paid is absolutely fictitious—can be neither handled nor seen—and that, nevertheless, it has exactly the same effect on prices and values that the same quantity of real money has, seems so improbable that they will not even seriously consider it. It is, however true, and it is the failure of most writers to recognize this fact, and its far

reaching importance—and of statesmen to act upon it—that has enabled the banking fraternity (The Money Power) to make “the Money Problem” so difficult to understand. It has, therefore, been suggested that I write a sort of kindergarten article on this phase of it. But, first, I wish to suggest that, to be benefited, the reader must keep his mind in a receptive attitude.

I

Question. What is money? And what is its function?

Answer. “Money” is “the medium of exchange.” It is sometimes used for other purposes, but its only “monetary” function is that of a medium of exchange. This is a fundamental fact of the greatest importance. It is not merely *a*, but *the* medium. *There is no other*—because everything actually used for that purpose is, *while so used*, “money.” A really rational monetary system cannot be built upon any other foundation.

Does not money pay debts?

Yes. But the payment of a debt is only the final consummation of an exchange previously begun.

The fog that, in many minds, surrounds the Money Problem is largely due to the failure to recognize the fact that—no matter of what it may or may not be made, or even whether it be real or unreal—*everything* that actually *does the work of money*, and is used for no other purpose, *is* money and must be included in all estimates of its aggregate volume. It is impossible to sustain the quantitative theory of money unless this is done—and practically all political economists unreservedly endorse that theory.

What is the quantitative theory?

It is the proposition that, whenever the quantity of money, of all kinds, increases faster than the aggregate quantity of the services and products for which it is to serve as the medium of exchange, prices tend upward; and, whenever the services and products to be exchanged increase faster than the quantity of money available for exchange purposes, prices tend downward—which is only another way of saying that “the law of supply and demand” applies as inexorably to money as it does to everything else.

II

Of what is money made?

Scores of substances have been used for this purpose—and many are still used. Some, as gold and silver, are valuable, while others, as cowrie shells and paper, cost but little. A

gold eagle is more easily handled than 1,000 copper cents—but their exchange value is exactly the same.

But what makes a thing money?

Things are made money solely by (1) Some law declaring them legal tender; or (2) The common consent of a community that they shall be used as its medium of exchange—and their *monetary* value is created by the same factors. And of these, the latter is the more important.

These facts are easily understood by all, but another one is not, viz.: That the money in actual use is divisible into two classes—"real" and "unreal"—and that, not only is this the case, but, in this country, there is several times as much of the unreal as of the real.

What is the difference between them?

Everything that does the work of money and can be seen and handled, is real money. And whatever actually does the work of money, but can be neither seen nor handled, is "unreal"—that is, fictitious—money.

The importance of this distinction is so great that it should be considered until fully understood—no matter how much time may be required. When it is impossible to reconcile this statement with previously accepted ideas, the reason is that those ideas are incorrect.

What is the difference between "good money" and "poor money?"

The best money is that "*the exchange value of which varies the least*—and the more frequent and violent the changes the poorer it is. The poorest money ever made is the fictitious money which is created by a purchase by a bank, and destroyed by a payment to the bank."

Are you not jesting about "fictitious" money?

By no means. It needs no argument to show that, if an institution "lends" or uses in any other way, more money than it owns, that amount must be fictitious. And this is self evidently the case when it exceeds the volume of all the real money in existence.

But does anyone actually use this sort of money?

Yes. *Every* banker and banking institution does. Indeed, *this is their principal business*. The most of them have but little, if any other kind of money, of their own. It is the distinguishing characteristic of the deposit banking business. No honest banker will deny this statement,—and when confronted with it, bankers are usually silent, or talk about something else.

"How do you know that honest bankers use fictitious money?"

From the regular reports of the banks, the most of which are *sworn* to by their own officers, and filed with State Bank

Commissioners, or with the United States Controller of the Currency.

"This surprises me. I never saw such a statement in a bank report, and did not know that bankers make such astonishing admissions."

This is not strange, for their reports have been skillfully arranged for the purpose of keeping the most important facts about their business hidden from the uninitiated—but they are there, all right! After I had become aware that an enormous rat was concealed in this deposit bank cheese, it took me three years to get hold of and pull it into the open. One of the most astounding facts in the history of the economic world is that this fraternity has so long been able to keep the business world ignorant of the essential character of their own daily transactions. It has coolly appropriated—to mislead the unwary—such familiar terms as "accommodation," "credit," "loans," etc., and has so skillfully manipulated educational influences that what is really the most widespread, long continuing, colossal and ruinous graft ever known is regarded by some as not only entirely legitimate and necessary, but as the prime cause of civilization.

"Can you give specific facts?"

The United States Controller of the Currency publishes a monthly "Circulation Statement," giving the "General Stock of Money in the United States," the amount "Held in Treasury as Assets of the Government," and the "Money in Circulation;" and his annual reports contain tables in which the reports of the National, State and Private banks, and the Loan and Trust Co.'s are consolidated. *My figures are taken entirely from, or based on, these official reports of the Controller.* Therefore, no banker can refute them. Indeed, no banker can be persuaded to attempt to do so, publicly.

The Circulation Statement for Sept. 1, 1906, put the "General Stock of Money" at \$3,101,096,498: of which the amount held in the Treasury was \$344,183,190 leaving "Money in Circulation" supposed to be in possession of the banks and the people, \$2,766,913,299. Get these facts clearly in your mind before considering the next paragraph.

The reports for 1906 show that the banks claim to have, in the aggregate, \$968,241,932 of real money in their possession; and the volume of their reported "deposits due on demand," was \$11,185,317,165. Most people understand that *all* of these deposits are real "money." But only a small part of them is, and it is impossible to tell what part is real and what is not. Much, the most of it was what they owed to those whose paper they had "discounted," as is shown by the fact that they owed, *subject to check*, on an average, \$11.55 for every dollar they claimed to have in their possession. Deducting

the money they report as in their possession from the sum they report as being actually on deposit with them at that date, leaves \$10,216,075,233. And, if this is not "fictitious" money, what is it? This question is too important to ignore, or to dismiss with a shrug of the shoulders. It is certainly "unreal," and I repeat that, as bank books do not show what part of each deposit account consists of real money and what of unreal, and as every check calls for real money to be paid on sight, some explanation is needed—and should be insisted upon.

The volume of real money claimed to be in circulation is larger than the facts warrant. But, accepting it as correct, the banks report deposits with them of \$8,074,220,667 more than the entire amount the government officials report as in existence—and this without allowing a dollar for the amount in the Treasury and in the pockets of eighty-five million people. That this much is purely "fictitious"—hocus pocus money—is *absolutely certain*. Even bankers do not deny it—their only replies being attempts to switch off onto something else or to call those who insist that this matter should be looked into cranks, etc. I am repeating this statement because the long continued refusal of every one of the tens of thousands engaged in this business to explain such ugly facts is equivalent to an admission that a satisfactory explanation is impossible.

Nor is the fictitious character of this money simply a logical conclusion. Every person who is conversant with the banking business is aware that bankers do often "lend" more money than they have in their possession—including that which belongs to other people.

Do not stop here to ask *How* can this be? But learn whether it *is* a fact. If my explanation does not make it clear, analyze bank reports—not those usually printed in advertisements, but those they make to the Government—and, sooner or later, you will ascertain how the milk gets into the cocoanut.

My first fundamental proposition was that "money is *the* medium of exchange." And my second is that the greater part of the money in actual use is literally "unreal"—fictitious. This second proposition is as important as the first. And the fact that many find it the more difficult one to accept makes it necessary to dwell upon it until it becomes clear.

III

Can you make plainer what this "unreal" or "fictitious" money is?

I will try. It consists simply of *entries on bank books* of

alleged deposits of money made by persons who had no money to deposit—and who “borrowed” from banks solely because of that fact. The process is: The depositor makes a note, and the bank “discounts” it—that is, *buys* it. In these transactions, the bank receives no money, and the so-called depositor receives none. The banker receives a note, and the depositor receives only the right to draw checks against a pretended—that is, a fictitious—deposit of money.

He is given this right because each banker expects that the most of the checks against him will be simply deposited by people who have accounts with him, and that, being simply credited to them, the debt due the original “depositor” will be extinguished by mere bookkeeping—offsetting one account against another. In fact, banks are little more than “clearing houses,” for the benefit of those who can do business by using them in this way. Bankers nearly always refuse to lend any considerable amount of money when they suppose it is to be withdrawn immediately and carried away.

Do you hold that checks are money?

No. Checks are not in any sense money. They are simply orders for money. A check may pass through a hundred hands, each giving a receipt for that much money, but if, on presentation to the bank, it is not “accepted,” the receipts become worthless, and none of the debts are paid. If, however, the bank “accepts” the check, and notes the fact on its books, every receipt becomes valid, and all the debts they cover are paid—even should the bank close its doors as the unpaid depositor walks out of them.

More than three fourths of the business of this country, and more than nine tenths of that of its principal cities, is done with this kind of unreal money—for which no better term has ever been used than that of “hocus pocus money.”

IV

Is not what you call *hocus pocus* money merely “bank credit?”

Of so-called bank credit, Yes. But, properly speaking, there is no such thing as “bank credit.” In business transactions *credit* is always given by the *seller*. The merchant who sells goods on time truly does a credit business. The credit is received by the *purchaser of the goods*—and it consists of the fact that he is not required to pay for them immediately. Banks do not sell to the public. They *buy* personal property—notes, drafts, etc.—and are allowed to retain, for a time, the price agreed upon. Therefore, if there is a creditor in bank transactions it must be the person who sells his note or draft to the bank without requiring immediate payment, in-

stead of the bank, which is permitted to retain money which really belongs to the seller of the note.

Then why is it called "bank credit?"

This is one of the many terms that were coined long ago to befog people, and mislead them as to the real nature of these transactions. Ostensibly, banks invest "capital" in notes, etc. But nearly all of the capital—and sometimes a great deal more—thus invested is purely fictitious. On Dec. 2, 1899 the National City Bank of New York, which then had less than \$7,000,000 of capital, surplus, undivided profits and bank notes, purchased more than \$27,000,000 of property of different kinds, and yet, with \$20,000,000 less than nothing left, its reported loans aggregated \$60,906,034. Indeed, bankers themselves have begun to call these transactions "liquid capital," and "liquid funds."

V

Have not banks the right to "lend money?"

Certainly. But no bank ever "lends" money. This is another term that has long been misused for misleading purposes. Properly speaking, the *lender* of a thing simply "*accommodates*" another—expecting no compensation, but only the return of the article. It is not a *business* transaction. And it will be noted that dealers in money have appropriated not only the term "loan," but that of "accommodation," also.

Before it was wrested from its legitimate meaning, the courts decided that the owner of property sold by persons to whom it had been *loaned*, could not recover possession of it—but that if it had been *hired* to the seller, the real owner could recover it, and the seller be convicted. The reason, as clearly stated by the courts, is that the *hiring* of property is a *business* transaction, and that the public interests require that the owners of such property should have the right to recover it; but that, when a person *lends* something to another, he practically endorses the character of the person to whom he lends it, and must suffer any loss that results from his misplaced confidence. This is still the common law. And I submit that it is time to insist upon the general recognition of the fact that no money transaction, entered into for profit, can be properly called a loan. That is, so-called bank loans should be treated as purely *business* transactions—and correct business terms used.

VI

If hocus pocus money does the work of real money why object to it?

One unanswerable reason is that it gives a small set of

people such a paralyzing advantage over every other class in the community. Deposit bankers are the only men whose business is regarded as legitimate, who actually "get something for nothing"—and they do this on a colossal scale. ✓
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Can you give easily verifying facts showing this?

Volumes of them. The National City Bank case already cited is one. In 1888, the four systems of deposit banks—National, State and Private Banks, and Loan and Trust Co.'s—taken together, collected interest on \$3.41 of "loans and discounts" for every dollar of their capital, surplus, undivided profits and national bank notes *not otherwise invested*. In 1896 the ratio was \$4.57 to one; and in 1906 (only ten years later) it was \$50.77 to one. And still the bankers drown the voice of Oliver Twist in their cries for "more."

Any person who makes and uses even a single piece of money made out of any material substance will be sent to the penitentiary, but bankers are allowed to use with impunity approximately \$8,000,000,000 of unreal money made by themselves out of nothing. It costs them only a little ink and paper, and their interest charges for permission to use it often go up to 10, 50, 100 per cent., and even more. And yet people wonder how it is that they get rich so fast.

Does this system have any bearing on the trust question?

A great deal. During the ten years from 1896 to 1906, the quantity of hocus pocus money in use, at the lowest calculation, increased \$5,497,000,000. This is the period during which the most of the great trusts were organized; and practically all of them were formed by men who controlled—or were in close touch with controllers of—great banking institutions.

The case of "Amalgamated Copper," as told by Mr. Lawson, has never been controverted. In it, the National City Bank of New York loaned to a few of its own people twenty-four or more million dollars, with which to purchase Marcus Daly's copper mines, and so manipulated the money market, by pledging bank support, as to enable them to sell the stock of the new company, at a profit greater than the amount of the loan—*before* the money with which the mines were bought was called for.

It is no exaggeration to say that, but for hocus pocus money, these gigantic trusts could not have been floated. And this fact, of itself, is a sufficient reason why the operations of the system should be materially restricted—or a better one substituted for it.

Moreover, trust promoters now control nearly all of the large banks, and are appropriating a rapidly increasing proportion of the resources of these institutions for the promotion of their personal operations; and they have already ar-

ranged to use much the larger part of the hocus pocus money which the pending bank bill is expected to enable the banks to make.

VIII

Are there other reasons for changing this system?

Yes, many. A very important one is that it makes every other class of business men absolutely and increasingly dependent upon banks for "the medium of exchange" without which business cannot be done.

All can see that, the less real money there is in circulation in proportion to the demand, the more will people be compelled to pay whatever price bankers demand for hocus pocus money, as a substitute. As the number of people, and the average ability to produce *constantly* increases, a correspondingly *constant* increase in the medium of exchange is needed to prevent business depression.

Yet, in spite of this universally admitted fact, most bankers have always striven—and are still striving—to contract the volume of real money. Their leaders are evidently working to bring about a condition in which practically all the business of the country, except small retailing, will have to be done by means of checks against deposits of hocus pocus money—upon which *they* will receive interest.

But why are bankers not as willing to lend real money as unreal?

Because real money usually costs them its face, and, moreover, when once paid out, *it belongs to those who receive it*, and continues to circulate indefinitely—the bank having no more control over it; but hocus pocus money never leaves the bank, and cannot be used a moment longer than interest is paid on it to its maker.

Is not this requiring people to pay bankers for what the Government should do for nothing?

Exactly so. This system enables bankers to levy tribute, as it were, directly or indirectly, upon nearly every business man and producer for the privilege of exchanging his services and products with others. And they are determined to keep on increasing this graft (for it is a graft) until no industrious man can escape.

Nor is this all. It often enables bankers to compel their own "admission to the ground floor" of new enterprises, as a condition precedent to granting loans. And, as they know the financial condition of nearly everyone—especially of the needy—they can, and some of them do, take advantage of that knowledge.

He must be blind indeed, who does not see that, long the

dominating financial figures, bankers are fast becoming the absolute despots of the business world.

What an indictment! I am glad you are through.

But I am not. Under the hocus pocus money system, business becomes more and more restricted to giant monopolies and *three months men*.

What are three months men?

The nature of this business requires that only short time paper be discounted. The National, and most of the State banks are prohibited from buying paper that has more than three months to run. Consequently, only those can use this system whose business is of such a nature that they can be sure to pay their notes within that short period.

Farmers, manufacturers, miners and others, who cannot realize on their investments in less than a year, or more, cannot safely deal with banks, unless the banker can be depended upon to renew the loan from time to time. Such agreements are often made, but they are usually verbal and illegal—and will not bind the bank in case of stress.

In every city, those who are acquainted with its business men are aware that nearly all of them are so dependent on banks that they have no choice but to retain the good will of some banker, at any cost, sell out, or go into bankruptcy.

It is an incontrovertible fact that this system makes it *impossible* for most men to engage in business on their own account, and for a large part of those in business to safely enlarge their operations. In short, it enables bankers to say who may—and who shall not—be given a chance to do business.

Has it any effect on wage earners?

Yes, it increases their dependence upon capitalists. Whenever the volume of money in circulation decreases—or even fails to increase fast enough—the market demand for services decreases; wages tend downward; and the number of the unemployed, and consequent distress, increases. This has always been so, everywhere—and always must be.

Why is this so?

It is impossible for the people to produce as much, in the aggregate, as they desire to consume. Therefore, the demand for services is illimitable, and the only reason for enforced idleness is “inability to effect an exchange of services and products.”

Whenever the volume of acceptable money is sufficiently large, the *market* demand for services exceeds the supply, and no one is compelled by want to labor for less than he can make at something else. *History furnishes no exception to this sweeping statement.*

Therefore, all that is needed to make labor unions unnecessary, and to secure to wage earners—from day laborers

to college presidents—real independence, is a sufficient supply of good money.

Is this the last count?

By no means. But I will state only one more, now. The use of hocus pocus money is the *sole cause* of every commercial panic ever known, here or elsewhere; and of nearly every long period of business depression. Other factors aggravate panics—but this is their only *cause*. This fact is incontrovertible—and its importance is truly incalculable.

Periodical panics and long periods of business depression were unknown until the practice of using hocus pocus money had become established.

They are still confined to countries the most of whose business is done with it.

And everywhere their frequency and severity increases with the proportion of the country's business that is done with it.

But how does using hocus pocus money cause panics?

This kind of money is created by a few strokes of a pen recording a fictitious deposit, which entry *increases the purchasing power of the seller* of the note, and of the receivers of his checks, *without decreasing the purchasing power of anyone else*. This is certainly an *expansion* of "the medium of exchange," and it remains expanded *until the note is paid*. But to pay the note, its maker *necessarily decreases his power*, or that of *those from whom the money with which to buy it is procured*. And this, of course, contracts the medium of exchange that much.

No amount of word juggling can change the fact that every purchase of a note by a bank with hocus pocus money practically *expands* the volume of the medium of exchange that much, and that every payment *contracts* it.

So long as the expansions largely exceed the contractions, business improves; when they balance each other, the wheels of production move more slowly; when the aggregate volume contracts, actually or relatively, business depression is inevitable; and when contraction is sudden and violent, a terrible panic is liable to result.

The reason is that, with the constantly increasing *demand* for money suddenly enlarged by the banks "shutting down" on some of their customers, the men thus deprived of the "liquid capital" with which they were doing business—and without which they cannot continue—finding themselves confronted by ruin, naturally become alarmed, and others seeing their plight, and fearing for themselves, unite in increasing numbers in a desperate search for money *which has ceased to exist*; ceased because of bank action contracting their "loans."

As is always the case with every kind of "elastic currency," hocus pocus money expands most when the need is least, and

contracts most when the need is greatest—and the results of contraction are most appalling. *And, in the nature of things, it cannot be otherwise.*

I hope that panics are never brought about intentionally?

Banks are sometimes *compelled* to bring disaster to others by contracting their loans—and even by merely ceasing to expand them—but they also sometimes intentionally cause much distress in localities, and even precipitate national panics—as was done in 1893.

But do they not themselves lose heavily in panic periods?

Some do, but the most of them—especially the large ones—make more out of “the wreckage” than they lose in other ways.

The great historian, Macaulay, describing the period after the fall of Napoleon, when England was contracting her currency to a gold basis, and much the larger part of her well-to-do people were being ruined, wrote:

“Amid the general gloom and distress, one class prospered—the bankers.”

And, always and everywhere, bankers, as a class, suffer less than others during periods of financial disaster that result from their own operations—and profit more than all other classes combined, by the general distress.

This is not because bankers are worse than other men—for they are not—but because of the nature of the system.

X

What, then, would you propose?

More real money, and less hocus pocus money.

That the quantity of the best money shall be steadily increased—until there is enough of it! And that of the poorer kinds as steadily decreased—until only the best remains: the best being that the exchange value of which varies the least.

How can this be done?

The details of a plan would take more space than is left for this article. One part of it, however, would require *all* deposit banks and bankers to do a safer business—by gradually increasing their cash reserves to at least 25 per cent. of their nominal deposits. And I will add here only that every step carefully taken along the lines suggested herein *must* make every kind of legitimate business safer and sounder.

Fortunately, as colossal as is the power of the banking fraternity, the Money Question is the easiest of solution of all our economic problems—because it can be settled gradually, without confiscation, business derangement, or increased debt or taxation.

I repeat, that the Money Problem is *not insoluble*. And

that it is *not* difficult to understand by those who recognize the fundamental fact that everything that actually does the work of money—and does nothing else—is money, *while it is thus used*. And also that, in the nature of things, *any kind of real money, made and issued by the Government, with all the people behind it, must be better and safer than mere hocus pocus money with only some local bank behind it*.

GREAT MEN ON THE MONEY QUESTION.

Aristotle said: "Money exists not by nature, but by law. The use of money was of necessity devised. From barter arose the use of money. For it is not everything which is naturally useful that is easy of carriage, and for this reason men invented among themselves, by way of exchange, something which they would naturally give and take. Money, then, was *devised* from necessity of mutual exchange."

"Money is simply employed for bartering, as a ship for carrying. Its action is similar to a cart's: it fetches for its owner the things he is in want of."—*W. S. Jevons*.

"Gold and silver are not intrinsically of the equal value of iron. No methods have been hitherto formed to establish a medium of trade equal in all advantages to its bills of credit made legal tender."—*Benjamin Franklin*.

John Locke, in his "Considerations," etc., published in 1609, said: "Money, while the same quantity of it is passing up and down the kingdom in trade, is really a standing measure of the falling and rising value of other things in reference to one another, and the alteration in price is truly in them only. But if you increase or lessen the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration of value is in the money."

Locke further said: "The value of money in any one country is the present quantity of the current money in that country in proportion to the present trade."

The historian Hume says: "It is not difficult to perceive that it is the total quantity of the money in circulation, in any country which determines what portion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country."

"It is the proportion between the circulating money and the commodities in the market which determines the price."

Ricardo: "By limiting the quantity of money it can be raised to any conceivable value. It is on this principle that paper money circulates. Though it has no intrinsic value, yet, by limiting its quantity, its value in change is as great as an equal quantity of coin. *On these principles, it will be seen,*

that it is not necessary that paper money be payable in specie to secure its value."

John C. Calhoun said: "I undertake to affirm without the fear of successful contradiction that a paper issued by the Government with the simple promise to receive it for all tax dues would be as uniform in its value as the metals themselves."

Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," page 490, says: "It may be worth while to remark that neither the existence nor the want of confidence in the solvency of the issuer exerts the smallest influence over the value of the paper money, so-called. * * * No such circumstances affect paper money; it circulates because it is a legal tender, and because its use as a circulating medium is indispensable."

Bonaby Price, professor of political economy in Oxford University, England, says: "Experience has proved that inconvertible paper need not suffer depreciation in value. The public has a certain definite need for a medium of exchange, and so far as the use of paper money is concerned, it is immaterial whether the notes be redeemed on demand or not."

THE MONEY QUESTION EPITOMIZED.

"I would change the form of these notes, so that instead of being *technically*, or in form, a promise, they should have stamped upon them the denomination as gold and silver have."—*Senator Wright, of Iowa, U. S. Senate, 43d Congress, Congressional Record, Vol. II, page 751.*

John C. Calhoun, the idol of Southern Democracy, and the most eminent statesman of which that party can boast, said: "It appears to me, after bestowing the best reflections I can give on the subject, that no convertible paper—that is, whose credit rests on a promise to pay, is suitable for currency. On the other hand, a national currency, while it would greatly facilitate its financial operations, would cost next to nothing, but would give to every branch of industry great advantages. And I now undertake to affirm, without the least fear that I can be answered, that a paper issued by the Government, with but the single promise to receive it for dues, would form a perfect paper circulation, which could not be abused by the Government; that it would be as uniform in value as metals, and I shall be able to prove that it is within the Constitution and power of Congress to provide such a paper, according to the most rigid rule of construing the Constitution."

Thomas Jefferson said: "Treasury bills bottomed on taxes, bearing or not bearing interest, as may be found necessary, thrown into circulation, will take the place of so much gold and silver."

Fichte says: "The amount of money current in a state represents everything that is purchasable on the surface of the state. If the quantity of purchasable articles increases while the quantity of money remains the same, the value of the money increases in the same ratio; if the quantity of money increases, while the quantity of purchasable articles remains the same, the value of money decreases in the same ratio."

John Stuart Mill, in his treatise on Political Economy, says: "And again in whatever degree, therefore, the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things remaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole, and of every part, is reciprocally diminished or increased."

Says Professor Jevons: "If gold or silver is used as money, then the amount of money must be governed by the amount available, and the holders by making money 'tight' or 'easy,' become the masters of all producers."

Salmon P. Chase: "My agency in procuring the passage of the National Bank act was the greatest financial mistake of my life, and it should be repealed."

James G. Blaine: "The money lost to the people under the old system of State Banks is a mere bagatelle compared with the system of National Banks for robbing the people."

Daniel Webster: "There has never been devised by man a more specious plan for robbing labor of the fruits of toil. It is a scheme of an infamous ring to rivet the chains of slavery on the limbs of labor so that idle luxury may ape the pretentious airs of foreign nobility."

"I believe that banking institutions are more dangerous to our liberties than standing armies. Already they have raised up a money aristocracy that has set the Government at defiance." "The issuing power should be taken from the banks and restored to the Government and the people to whom it properly belongs. Let banks exist, but let them bank upon coin or treasury notes."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Wallace's United States Supreme Court Reports, Vol. XII, page 548:

"Contracts for the payment of money are subject to the authority of Congress, they are engagements to pay with lawful money of the United States, and Congress is empowered to regulate the money. *It cannot therefore be maintained that the legal tender acts impair the obligation of contracts.* No one ever doubted that a debt of one thousand dollars, contracted before 1834, could be paid by one hundred eagles (\$1,000) coined after that year, though they contained no more gold than ninety-four eagles (\$940), such as were coined when the contract was made, and this *not because of the intrinsic value of the coin, but because of its legal value.* The Constitution does not ordain what metals may be coined. Nor

does it prescribe that the legal value shall correspond at all with the intrinsic value in the market."

In a letter to Mr. Gallatin, December 13, 1803, Mr. Jefferson said of the old United States Bank:

"This institution is one of most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our Constitution.

"The nation is at this time strong and united in its sentiments and cannot be shaken. But suppose a series of untoward events should occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of the Government to meet a crisis of great danger, an institution like this, penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx, may in a critical moment upset the Government.

"*I deem no Government safe which is under the vassalage of any self-constituted authorities, or any other authority than that of the Nation or its regular functionaries.* What an obstruction could these banks be in time of war! They might dictate to us the peace we should accept, or withdraw their aid."

HOW THE BANKS HAVE ACTED IN THE PAST.

"The bank is in the field, enlisted for the war, a battering-ram—not to beat down the citadel of American liberty; to command the elections and elect a bank president by dint of bank power.

* * * If she succeeds in that election, she will wish to consolidate her power by getting control of all other elections. Governors of states, judges of the courts, representatives and senators in Congress, all must belong to her. The senate especially must belong to her, for there lies the power to confirm nominations and to try impeachments. To get possession of the senate, the legislature of a majority of the states will have to be acquired. The whole Government will fall into the hands of this money power. An oligarchy will be established, but that oligarchy will in a few years ripen into a monarchy."—*Thomas H. Benton, in U. S. Senate.*

Berkey says: "That the senate was controlled in its action in regard to the legal tender bill by improper influences is not a matter of conjecture, but of history."

In a speech made by Hon. W. D. Kelly, at Philadelphia, January 15, 1876, he says:

"I remember the grand old commoner, Thaddeus Stevens, with hat in his hand and his cane under his arm, when he returned to the House after the final conference, and shedding bitter tears over the result. 'Yes,' said he, 'we have had to yield. The Senate was stubborn. We did not yield until we found that the country must be lost or the banks be gratified,

and we have sought to save the country in spite of the banks."

They issued the Hazzard Circular.

They precipitated the panic of 1893 in order to secure the suspension of silver coinage.

CALHOUN ON MONEY; OUR PAPER MONEY NECESSARY TO
PROSPERITY.

In his speech in the United States Senate, February 5, 1840, Mr. Calhoun said:

"The first and indispensable step is a thorough reformation of the currency. Without a solid, stable and uniform currency you never can fully succeed. The present currency is incurably bad. It is impossible to give it solidity or stability. A convertible bank currency, however well regulated, is subject to violent and sudden changes, which must forever unfit it to be a standard of value. It is by far the most sensitive of all to every change, commercial or political, foreign or domestic, as may be readily illustrated by reference to the ordinary action of foreign exchanges on such currency."

In his speech on the Subtreasury bill, March 22, 1837, Calhoun said:

"In fact, it may be laid down as a rule that where currency consists of a convertible paper resting on a gold and silver basis, the small portion of specie which may be required to uphold the whole has its fluidity obstructed by so many and such powerful causes as to afford no certain criterion of the relative expansion of the currency between it and other countries, and of course afford no certain rule of regulating banking operations."

In his speech on his amendment to separate the Government from the banks, October 3, 1837, Calhoun said:

"The banking system can advance no further in our country without great and radical changes. It has come to a stand. The conflict between metallic and bank currency, which I have shown to be inherent in the system, has, in the course of time and with the progress of events, become so deadly that they must separate and one or the other fall.

"Nothing can prevent it but great and radical changes, which would diminish its profits and influences so as effectually to arrest that strong and deep current which has carried so much of the wealth and capital of the community system, as now constituted, must fail; unless, indeed, it can form an alliance with the Government and through it establish its authority by law and make its credit, unconnected with gold or silver, the medium of circulation. If the alliance should take place one of the first movements would be the establishment of a great central institution; or, if that should prove

impracticable, a combination of a few selected and powerful state banks which, sustained by the Government, would crush or subject the weaker, to be followed by an amendment of the Constitution, or some other device, to limit their number and the amount of their capital hereafter. This done, the next step would be to confine and consolidate the supremacy of the system over the currency of the country, which would be in its hands exclusively, and, through it, over the industry, business and politics of the country; all of which would be wielded to advance its profits and power.

"The system having now arrived at this point, the great and solemn duty devolves on us to determine this day what relation this Government shall hereafter bear to it. Shall we enter into an alliance with it and become the sharers of its fortunes and the instrument of its aggrandizement and supremacy? This is the momentous question on which we must now decide. Before we decide it behooves us to inquire whether the system is favorable to the permanency of our free republican institutions, to the industry and business of the country, and above all to our moral and intellectual development, the great object for which we were placed here by Author of our being.

"Can it be doubted what must be the effects of a system whose operations have been shown to be so unequal on free institutions, whose foundation rests on an equality of rights? Can that favor equality which gives to one portion of the citizens of the country such decided advantage over the other, as I have shown it does in my opening remarks? Can that be favorable to liberty which concentrates the money power and places it under the control of a few powerful and wealthy individuals? It is the remark of a profound statesman that the revenue is the state; and, of course, those who control the revenue control the state; and those who can control the money power can control the revenue, and through it the state, with the property and industry of the country, in all its ramifications. Let us pause for a moment and reflect on the nature and extent of this tremendous power.

"Place the money power in the hands of a single individual or a combination of individuals, and they, by expanding or contracting the currency, may raise or sink prices at pleasure; and by purchasing when at the greatest depression and selling at the greatest elevation, may command the whole property and industry of the community and control its fiscal operations. The banking system concentrates and places this power in the hands of those who control it, and its force increases just in proportion as it dispenses with a metallic basis. Never was an engine invented better calculated to place the destiny of the many in the hands of the few, or less favorable

to that equality and independence which lie at the bottom of our free institutions.

Of the use of paper money, Calhoun, in his speech on the bill authorizing an issue of Treasury notes, September 19, 1839, said:

"It is, then, my impression that, in the present condition of the world, a paper currency in some form, if not necessary, is almost indispensable in financial and commercial operations of civilized and extensive communities. In many respects it has a vast superiority over a metallic currency, especially in great and extended transactions by its greater cheapness, lightness and the facility of determining the amount. The great desideratum is to ascertain what description of paper has the requisite qualities of being free from fluctuation in value and liability to abuse in the greatest perfection. I have shown, I trust, that the bank-notes do not possess these requisites in a degree sufficiently high for this purpose. I go further. It appears to me, after bestowing the best reflection I can give the subject, that no convertible paper—that is, no paper whose credit rests on a promise to pay, is suitable for currency. It is the form of credit proper in private transactions between man and man, but not for a standard of value to perform exchanges generally, which constitutes the appropriate functions of money or currency. * * *

"On what, then, ought a paper currency to rest? I would say on demand and supply simply, which regulates the value of everything else—the constant demand which the Government has on the community for its necessary supplies. A medium resting on this demand, which simply obligates the Government to receive it in all its dues, to the exclusion of everything else except gold and silver, and which shall be optional with those who have demands on Government to receive or not, would, it seems to me, be as stable in its value as those metals themselves, and be as little liable to abuse as the power of coining. It would contain within itself a self-regulating power. It could only be issued to those who had claims on the government and to those only with their consent, and of course only at or above par with gold and silver, which would be its habitual state; for, as far as the Government was concerned it would be equal in every respect to gold and silver, and superior in many, particularly in regulating the distant exchanges of the country. Should, however, a demand for gold and silver or other accidental causes depress it temporarily, as compared with the precious metals, it would then return to the treasury; and as it could not be paid out during such depression, its gradual diminution in the market would soon restore it to an equality, when it would again flow out into the general circulation. Thus there would be a con-

stant alternate flux and reflux into and from the treasury between it and the precious metals; but if at any time a permanent depression in its value be possible from any cause, the only effect would be to operate as a reduction of taxes on the community, and the only sufferer would be the community itself. Against this its own interests would be a sufficient guarantee.

"It may throw some light on this subject to state that North Carolina, just after the Revolution, issued a large amount of paper which was made receivable in dues to her. It was also made a legal tender, but which, of course, was not obligatory after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A large amount, say, between four and five thousand dollars, remained in circulation after that period and continued to circulate for more than twenty years at par with gold and silver during the whole time, with no other advantages than being received in the revenue of the state, which was much less than \$100,000 per annum.

"No one can doubt but that the Government credit is better than that of any bank—more stable, more safe. Why then, should it mix it up with the less perfect credit of those institutions? Why should it not be safe in its own hands, while it shall be considered safe in the hands of 800 private institutions, scattered all over the country, and which have no other object but their own private profit, to increase which they almost constantly extend their business to the most dangerous extremes? And why should the community be compelled to give up 6 per cent. discount for the Government credit blended with that of the banks, when the superior credit of the Government could be furnished separately, without discount, to the mutual advantage of the Government and the community? Why, let me ask, should the Government be exposed to such difficulties as the present, by mingling its credit with the banks, when it could be exempt from all such by using, by itself, its own safer credit? It is time the community, which has so deep an interest in a sound and cheap currency, and the equality of the laws between one portion of the country and another, should reflect seriously on these things, not for the purpose of oppressing any interest, but to correct gradually disorders of a dangerous character which have insensibly, in the long course of years, without being perceived by anyone, crept into the state. The question is not between credit and no credit, as some would have us believe, but in what form credit can best perform the functions of a sound and safe currency.

"Believing that there might be a sound and safe paper currency founded on the credit of the Government exclusively, I was desirous that those who are responsible and have the

power should have availed themselves of the opportunity," etc.

Further on, in the same speech, he said:

"I am not devoid of sympathy for the country in the pecuniary distress which now pervades it. No one struggled earlier or longer to prevent it than myself; nor can anyone more sensibly feel the widespread blight which has suddenly blasted the hopes of so many and precipitated thousands from affluence to poverty. The desolation has fallen mainly on the mercantile class—a class I have ever held in the highest estimation. No country ever had a more superior body of merchants, of higher honor, of more daring enterprise, or of greater skill and energy. The ruin of such a class is a heavy calamity, and I am solicitous, among other things, to give such stability to our currency as to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity hereafter."

In the speech on his amendment to separate the Government from the banks, October 3, 1837, Calhoun said:

"I am not the enemy, but the friend of credit—not as the substitute, but the associate and the assistant of the metals. In that capacity I hold credit to possess in many respects a vast superiority over the metals themselves. I object to it in the form which it has assumed in the banking system, for reasons that are neither light or few, and that neither have been nor can be answered. The question is not whether credit can be dispensed with, but what is its best possible form, the most stable, the least liable to abuse and the most convenient and cheap. I threw out some ideas on this important subject in my opening remarks. I have heard nothing to change my opinion. I believe the Government credit in the form I suggested combines all the requisite qualities of a credit circulation in the highest degree and also that the Government ought not to use any other credit but its own in its financial operations.

"We are told the form I suggested is but a repetition of old continental money—a ghost that is ever conjured up by all who wish to give the banks an exclusive monopoly of Government credit. The assertion is not true; there is not the least analogy between them. The one was a promise to pay when there was no revenue, and the other a promise to receive in the dues of Government when there is an abundant revenue.

"We are also told that there is no instance of a Government paper that did not depreciate. In reply I affirm that there is none, assuming the form I propose, that ever did depreciate. Whenever a paper receivable in the dues of Government had anything like a fair trial it has succeeded. Instance the case of North Carolina, referred to in my opening remarks. The drafts of the treasury at this moment, with all

their incumbrance, are nearly at par with gold and silver; and I might add the instance alluded to by the distinguished senator from Kentucky, in which he admits that as soon as the excess of the issues of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky were reduced to the proper point, its notes rose to par. The case of Russia might also be mentioned. In 1727 she had a fixed paper circulation, in the form of bank-notes, but which were inconvertible, of upward of \$120,000,000, estimated in the metallic ruble, and which had for years remained without fluctuation, having nothing to sustain it but that it was received in the dues of the Government, and that, too with a revenue of only about \$90,000,000 annually. I speak on the authority of a respectable traveler. Other instances, no doubt, might be added, but it needs no such support.

"It has another and striking advantage over bank circulation in its superior cheapness as well as greater stability and safety. Bank paper is cheap to those who make it, but dear, very dear, to those who use it—fully as much so as gold and silver. It is the little cost of its manufacture and the dear rates at which it is furnished to the community which gives the great profit to those who have a monopoly of the article. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the profit by the splendid palaces which we see under the name of banking houses, and the vast fortunes which have been accumulated in this branch of business; all of which must ultimately be derived from the productive powers of the community, and, of course, add so much to the cost of production. On the other hand, the credit of Government, while it would greatly facilitate its financial operations, would cost nothing, or next to nothing, both to it and the people, and, of course, would add nothing to the cost of production, which would give every branch of our industry, agriculture, commerce and manufactures, as far as its circulation might extend, great advantages, both at home and abroad.

"But there remains another and greater advantage. In the event of war it would open almost unbounded resources to carry it on without the necessity of resorting to what I am almost disposed to call a fraud—public loans. I have already shown that the loans of the Bank of England to the Government were very little more than loaning back to the Government its own credit; and this is more or less true of all loans where the banking system prevails. It was pre-eminently so in our late war. The circulation of the Government credit, in the shape of bills receivable exclusively with gold and silver in its dues, and the sales of public lands, would dispense with the necessity of loans by increasing its bills with the increase of taxes. The increase of taxes, and, of course, of revenue and expenditures, would be followed by an in-

creased demand for Government bills, while the latter would furnish the means of paying the taxes without increasing in the same degree the pressure on the community. This, with a judicious system of funding at a low rate of interest, would go far to exempt the Government from the necessity of contracting public loans in the event of war."

Later still (March 22, 1838), in his speech on the Subtreasury bill, Calhoun said:

"I now undertake to affirm positively, and without the least fear that I can be answered, what heretofore I have but suggested, that a paper issued by Government, with the simple promise to receive in all its dues, leaving its creditors to take it, or gold and silver, at their option, would to the extent that it would circulate, form a perfect paper circulation, which could not be abused by the Government, that would be as steady and uniform in value as the metals themselves, and that if by any possibility it should depreciate, the loss would fall not on the people, but on the Government itself; for the only effect of depreciation would be virtually to reduce the taxes, to prevent which the interest of the Government would be a sufficient guarantee. I shall not go into the discussion now, but on a suitable occasion I shall be able to make good every word I have uttered. I would be able to do more—to prove that it is within the constitutional power of Congress to use such a paper in the management of its finances according to the most rigid rule of construing the Constitution; and that those, at least, who think that Congress can authorize the notes of private state corporations to be received in the public dues are estopped from denying its right to receive its own paper. If it can virtually endorse by law on the notes of specie-paying banks, 'receivable in payment on the public dues,' it surely can order the same words to be written on a blank piece of paper."

Calhoun, in his speech of October 3, 1837, said:

"My colleague, in the course of his remarks, said he regarded this measure as a secret war waged against the banks. I am sure he could not intend to attribute such motives to me. I wage no war, secret or open, against the existing institutions. They have been created by the legislation of the states and are alone responsible to the states. I hold them not answerable for the present state of things, which have been brought about under the silent operation of time without attracting notice or disclosing its danger. Whatever legal or constitutional rights they possess under their charters ought to be respected; and if attacked, I would defend them as resolutely as I now oppose the system. Against that I wage, not secret, but open and uncompromising hostilities, originating not in opinions recently or hastily formed. I have long seen the true character of the system, its tendency and destiny,

and have looked forward for many years, as many of my friends know, to the crisis in the midst of which we are now. My ardent wish has been to effect a gradual change in the banking system, by which the crisis might be passed without a shock if possible, but I have been resolved that should it arrive in my time I would discharge my duty, however great the difficulty and danger. I have thus far faithfully performed it, according to the best of my abilities, and with the blessing of God shall persist, regardless of every obstacle with equal fidelity to the end.

"He who does not see that the credit system is on the eve of a great revolution has formed a very imperfect conception of the past and anticipation of the future. What changes it is destined to undergo and what new form it will ultimately assume are concealed in the womb of time and not given us to foresee. But we may perceive in the present system which must be expelled, and others which must enter it in its renewed form.

"In looking at the elements at work, I hold it certain that in the process there will be a total and final separation of the credit of Government and that of individuals, which have been so long blended. The good of society and the interests of both imperiously demand it, and the growing intelligence of the age will enforce it. It is unfair, unjust, unequal, contrary to the spirit of free institutions and corrupting in its consequences. How far the credit of Government may be used in a separate form with safety and convenience remains to be seen. To the extent of its fiscal action, limited strictly to the function of the collection and disbursement of its revenue and in the form I have suggested, I am of the impression it may be both safely and conveniently used, and with great incidental advantages to the whole community. Beyond that limit I see no safety and much danger.

"What form individual credit will assume after the separation is still more uncertain, but I see clearly that the existing fetters that restrain it will be thrown off. The credit of an individual is his property and belongs to him as much as his land and house, to use it as he pleases with the single restriction which is imposed on all our rights, that it is not to be used to injure others. What limitations this restriction may prescribe time and experience will show; but whatever they may be they ought to assume the character of general laws, obligatory on all alike, and open to all; and under the provisions of which all may be at liberty to use their credit jointly or separately, as freely as they now use their land and houses, without any preference by special acts in any form or shape to one over another. Everything like monopoly must

ultimately disappear before the process, which has begun, will finally terminate.

"I see, not less clearly, that in the process a separation will take place between the use of capital and the use of credit. They are wholly different and under the growing intelligence of the times cannot much longer remain confounded in their present state of combination. They are as distinct as a loan and an indorsement; in fact, the one is but giving to another the use of our capital and the other the use of our credit; and yet so dissimilar are they that we daily see the most prudent individuals lending their credit for nothing, in the form of indorsement or security, who would not loan the most inconsiderable sum without interest. But as dissimilar as they are, they are completely confounded in banking operations, which is one of the main sources of profit and the consequent dangerous flow of capital in that direction. A bank discount, instead of a loan, is very little more, as I have shown, than a mere exchange of credit, an exchange of the joint credit of the drawer and indorser of the one note discounted for the credit of the bank in the shape of its own note. In the exchange the bank insures the parties to the note discounted, and the community, which is the loser if the bank fails, virtually insures the bank; and yet by confounding this exchange of credit with the use of capital the bank is permitted to charge an interest for this exchange, rather greater than an individual is permitted to charge for a loan, to the great gain of the bank and loss to the community. I say loss, for the community can never enjoy the great and full benefit of the credit system till loans and credits are considered as entirely distinct in their nature, and the compensation for the use of each be adjusted to their respective nature and character. Nothing would give a greater impulse to all the business of society. The superior cheapness of credit would add incalculably to the productive powers of the community, when the immense gains which are now made by confounding them shall come in aid of production.

"Whatever other changes the credit system is destined to undergo, these are certainly some which it must; but when and how the revolution will end, whether it is destined to be sudden and convulsive or gradual and free from shock, time alone can disclose. Much will depend on the decision of the present question and the course which the advocates of the system will pursue. If the separation takes place and is acquiesced in by those interested in the system the prospect will be that it will gradually and quietly run down without shock or convulsions, which is my sincere prayer; but if not, if the reverse shall be insisted on, and above all, if it should be effected through a great political struggle (it can only so

be effected), the revolution would be violent and convulsive. A great and thorough change must take place. It is wholly unavoidable. The public attention begins to be roused throughout the civilized world to this all-absorbing subject. There is nothing left to be controlled but the mode and manner, and it is better for all that it should be gradual and quiet than the reverse. All the rest is destiny."

JEFFERSON ON MONEY.

"This institution (national bank) is one of the most deadly hostilities existing against the principles and form of our Constitution * * * Ought we then to give further growth to an institution so powerful, so hostile? * * * Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our Constitution to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing with other banks, as to the favors of the Government."—*Letters to Albert Gallatin, December 15, 1803, Jefferson's Works, Vol. IV, pages 515-520.*

"The banks have discontinued themselves. We are now without any medium, and necessity as well as patriotism and confidence will make us all eager to receive treasury notes, if founded on specific taxes. Congress may now borrow of the public, and without interest, all the money they may want. Providence seems indeed, by a special dispensation, to have put down for us, without a struggle, that very paper enemy which the interest of our citizens long since required ourselves to put down at whatever risk. The work is done. The event is pregnant with futurity, and if not at once by Congress, I know not on what shoal our bark is next to be stranded."—*Jefferson's Works, Vol. VI, page 382, letter to Thomas Cooper, September 10, 1814.*

"The question will be asked, and ought to be looked at, what is to be the course, if loans cannot be obtained? There is but one—'*Carthago delenda est.*' Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation, to whom it belongs. It is the only fund on which they can rely for loans; it is the only recourse which can never fail them, and it is an abundant one for every necessary purpose. Treasury bills bottomed on taxes, bearing or not bearing interest, as may be found necessary, thrown into circulation will take the place of so much gold and silver, which last, when crowded, will find an influx into other countries, and thus keep up the quantum of medium at its salutary level. Let the banks continue, if they please, but let them discount for cash alone or for treasury notes."—*Letter, September 11, 1813, Vol. VI, page 194.*

"I have ever opposed money of banks; not of those discounting for cash, but of those foisting their own paper in circulation, and thus banishing our cash. My zeal against those institutions was so warm and open at the establishment of the Bank of the United States that I was derided as a maniac by the tribe of bank-mongers who were seeking to filch from the public, thus swindling on barren grains. But the errors of that day cannot be recalled. The evils they have engendered are now open to us, and how are we to get out of them? Shall we build an altar to the old paper money of the Revolution, which ruined individuals, but saved the Republic, and burn on that all of the bank charters, present and future, and their notes with them? For these are to ruin both Republic and individuals."—*Letter of Thomas Jefferson to President Adams, January 24, 1814.*

"The system of banking we have both equally and ever reprobated. I contemplate it as a blot left in all our constitutions, which, if not severed, will end in their destruction, which is already hit by the gamblers in corporations, and is sweeping away in its progress the fortunes and morals of our citizens. Funding I consider as limited rightfully to a redemption of the debt within the lives of a majority of the generation contracting it; every generation coming equally by the laws of the Creator of the world to the free possession of the earth He made for their subsistence, unencumbered by the predecessors. And I sincerely believe, with you, that banking institutions are more dangerous than standing armies and that the principle of spending money to be paid by posterity under the name of funding is but swindling futurity on a large scale."—*Letter to Taylor, May 28, 1816, Jefferson's Works, Vol. VI, pages 605-606.*

"And so the nation may continue to issue its bills as far as its wants require and the limit of its circulation will admit. Those limits understood to extend with us at present to \$200,000,000, a greater sum than would be necessary for any war. But this, the only resource which the Government could command with certainty, the states having unfortunately fooled away, nay, corruptly alienated to swindlers and shavers, under the cover of private banks. Say, too, as an additional evil, that the disposable funds of individuals to this great amount have thus been withdrawn from improvement and useful enterprise, and employed in the useless, usurious and demoralizing practices of bank directors and their accomplices. In the war of 1775 our state availed itself of this fund by issuing a paper money bottomed on a specific tax for its redemption, and to insure its credit bearing an interest of 5 per cent. Within a very short time not a bill of this emission was to be found in circulation. It was locked in the chests of executors, guard-

ians, widows, farmers, etc. We then issued bills bottomed on a redeeming tax, but bearing no interest. These were readily received and never depreciated a single farthing."—*Opinions of Thomas Jefferson in 1813, his letters to John W. Eppes, June 25, 1813; Jefferson's Works, Vol. VI, pages 139 and 140.*

JACKSON ON BANKS OF ISSUE.

Jackson in his farewell address, speaking of the United States Bank, said: "The immense capital, the peculiar privileges bestowed upon it, enabled it to exercise despotic sway over the other banks in the entire country. From its superior strength it could seriously injure, if not destroy, the business of any one of them which might incur its resentment, and it openly claimed for itself the power of regulating the currency throughout the United States. In other words, it asserted (and undoubtedly possessed) the power to make money plenty or scarce at its pleasure, at any time, and in any quarter of the Union, by controlling the issues of other banks, and permitting an expansion, or compelling a general contraction of the circulating medium, according to its own will. The other banking institutions were sensible of its strength, and they soon generally became its obedient instruments, ready at all times to execute its mandates; and with the banks necessarily went also that numerous class of persons in our commercial cities who depended altogether on bank credits for their solvency and means of business; who are therefore obliged, for their own safety, to propitiate the favor of the money power by distinguished zeal and devotion to its service.

"The result of the ill-advised legislation which established this great monopoly was to concentrate the whole moneyed power of the Union with its boundless means of corruption and its numerous dependents, under the direction and command of one acknowledged head; thus organizing this particular interest as one body, and securing to it unity and concert of action throughout the United States, and enabling it to bring forward, upon any occasion, its entire and undivided strength to support or defeat any measure of the Government. In the hands of this formidable power, thus perfectly organized, was also placed unlimited dominion over the amount of the circulating medium, *giving it the power to regulate the value of property and the fruits of labor*, in every quarter of the Union, and to bestow prosperity or bring ruin upon any city or section of the country, as might best comport with its own interest or policy.

"We are not left to conjecture how the moneyed power, thus organized and with such a weapon in its hands, would be likely to use it. The distress and alarm which pervaded and

agitated the whole country, when the Bank of the United States waged war upon the people, and in order to compel them to submit to its demands, cannot yet be forgotten. The ruthless and unsparing temper with which whole cities and communities were oppressed, individuals impoverished and ruined, and a scene of cheerful prosperity suddenly changed into one of gloom and despondency, ought to be indelibly impressed on the memory of the people of the United States. If such was its power in a time of peace, what would it not have been in a season of war with an enemy at your doors? No nation but the freeman of the United States could have come out victorious in such a contest; yet, if you had not conquered, the Government would have passed from the hands of the many to the hands of the few; and this organized money power, from its secret conclave, would have dictated the choice of your highest officers and compelled you to make peace or war, as best suited their own wishes. The forms of your Government might for a time have remained, but its living spirit would have departed from it."

At another time he said:

"The question is distinctly presented whether the people of the United States are to govern through representatives chosen by their unbiased suffrages, or whether the power and money of a great corporation are to be secretly exerted to influence their judgment and control their decisions. It must now be determined whether the bank is to have its candidates for all the offices in the country, from the highest to the lowest, or be brought forward as heretofore, and supported by the usual means."—*Message of December 3, 1833.*

LET THE GOVERNMENT CREATE THE MONEY, AND LET IT GO TO THE PEOPLE WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF BANKS.

The Federal Government of 100,000,000 people should maintain its dignity, its power, its sovereignty.

It should never mutilate itself, debase itself, nor tarnish its honor. When it farms out for private profit any of the grand and necessary functions of government, it deprives itself of one of its limbs, destroys its own symmetry, impairs its usefulness, prostitutes itself to an unworthy purpose.

Why do we entrust the central Government with the exclusive authority to declare war? Because the power is too vast and terrible to be entrusted to any minority of the people. The Government represents *all* the people, and war should never be waged until all the people, speaking through the Government declare in favor of it.

In like manner, it is the Government which must make

laws, establish courts, maintain good order, punish crime, regulate commerce, and exercise such other powers as are recognized as Governmental functions.

One function of government,—one that has from time immemorial been recognized as an inseparable attribute of sovereignty,—is that of establishing and maintaining the money-system. Always, and everywhere the Government has stamped and issued the money. Always, and everywhere, the creation of money has been a royal prerogative.

In nature, there is no such thing as *money*. Man creates cloth and makes a suit of clothes,—nature does not. Nature never even furnished shrinking womanhood with an apron of fig leaves. Nature gave all of us the same naked start—and there are millions of our fellow creatures, male and female, who have been content with what nature did, and have not even taken the trouble to make the apron of leaves.

The more progressive men made coverings for themselves; and from aprons of fig leaves they advanced to coverings made from the skins of various beasts of the field. In the course of ages, they advanced to the state of tanned and dressed leather, and in many parts of the world the skins of wild beasts still supply the people with raiment. Among ourselves, the use of leather disappeared *less than a hundred years ago*, for many of the soldiers who fought on our side in the war of 1812 were covered, at least in part, with the skins of wild animals.

From nakedness, to the flap made of bark or leaves; from the flap, to the kirtle; from the single garment, which concealed the lower half of the body, to the robe which covered it all; and from the robe to the full and complicated attire of the present day, was a line of progress which the human race was centuries in traveling.

In like manner, commerce has evolved from primitive barter to such a complex system of exchanges until the plain people have forgotten the true meaning and purpose of the creation of money.

When the owner of a cow got tired of driving it around, hunting somebody who was willing to exchange for it another cow, or some sheep, or hogs, or grain, or peltry, he found that everybody else was equally tired of that clumsy system of commerce.

Therefore, even among barbarous tribes, something better was agreed upon. The tribe consulted, in council, and decided that certain kinds of beads or shell or pelts, should have such and such a value *in exchange*.

After this, the man who had a cow to sell would accept a certain number of these beads, or shells, or skins; and he would then use these, instead of the cow itself, when he came to buy sheep, or swine, or grain.

I am doing my level best to make this plain and simple, so that it may be comprehended by the editors of our daily papers.

In making the preliminary studies for the "Life and Times of Andrew Jackson," I discovered that in the "State of Franklin,"—the forerunner of Tennessee—the backwoodsmen had a regular system of currency made up entirely of peltry. The skins of the bear, the buck, the otter, the raccoon had their agreed rating, and these skins circulated as money just as freely as the soap-wrapper stuff which the New York Clearing House criminals forced on the country.

But as barbarism gave way to civilization, the ruder money systems were replaced by the use of metallic money.

Iron was not money, but *the law* in Sparta made it so.

Copper was not money, but *the law* of China made it so.

Silver was not money, but *the law* of Rome and of many other countries made it so.

Gold was not money, but *the law* made it so when Cæsar had come to be the virtual ruler of the European world.

But as society became more cultivated, and commerce vastly greater and more complex, metallic money became comparatively as clumsy to do business with as beads and shells had been to our barbarous ancestors. It was practically impossible to lug large sums of silver and gold around, buying and selling, lending and collecting. Besides, there was not enough silver and gold to supply the demands of the commerce of the world which had so enormously increased with the progress of manufactures the application of steam to navigation, and the other well-known modern inventions and discoveries which have changed the face of the universe.

Out of the necessity of the case, sprang paper money.

In itself, wood pulp is just as near to being *money* as the slender thread of golden ore locked in the rigid hold of the quartz.

The Government stamp and the law of legal tender change gold bullion into gold money. When you accept ten gold dollars for your calf, it isn't the gold bullion that you are after—it is *the ten dollars*. And the ten dollars wouldn't be there, without the Government *stamp* and the law of *legal tender*.

Suppose that the bullion of itself were worth ten dollars and you were asked to choose which you would accept—the gold bullion, or ten silver dollars, or ten Greenback dollars. Which would you prefer? Don't you *know* that you would reject the gold bullion, which you *might* not be able to dispose of without a loss, and that you *would* accept the Greenbacks or the silver, *which nobody can legally refuse*?

The paper in the ten Greenback dollars has no value; yet *nobody* would hesitate to take the paper money, in preference

to the gold bullion, which is *worth* ten dollars, but which is *not ten dollars*.

You can use the paper money *at once*, as money; you cannot use the gold as money until it is taken to the mint, melted, *stamped, and thus given the benefit of the law of legal tender*. Consequently, it is true, in every sense of the word, that *the Government creates money*.

Coming back to the proposition that money is a mere product of agreement, convention, *law*—we repeat that its creation is a sovereign function, always has been, and always should be.

That our forefathers understood it so, and meant to clothe the Federal Government, exclusively, with the authority to create money, is evidenced by the Constitution itself. Not only was Congress invested with this mighty attribute of sovereignty, but *it was expressly denied to the States*.

Think, then, what an illegal monstrosity the National banking system is, when *it is given sovereign powers which the Constitution denies to the States!*

Can any sane man believe, that the thirteen original States of the old Confederation meant to give Congress the right to create private corporations, which *might be invested with greater powers than were exercised by the States themselves?*

It was for that very reason, no doubt, that the States, acting in Constitutional Convention, voted down the proposition to clothe Congress with this dangerous power.

The States meant to reserve to themselves the authority to charter corporations. They expressly refused to adopt the clause which gave the Federal Government that power. From the first formation of the Jeffersonian party down to the Civil War, the Democracy *always* contended that Congress did *not* have the legal right to create corporations. Yet so far have we wandered from the old landmarks, that *every Democrat in Congress, with one lone exception, voted with the Republicans, in 1901 to recharter the National banks for another twenty years*.

Thus the Democratic party violated every principle of State Rights and of sound Democracy, by voting away to a few favored private corporations the vast and sovereign power to create money—a power expressly denied to the States themselves!

THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR ENJOINS KOSSUTH.

In the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria, there came on to be heard, before her Lord Chancellor, a very unusual case.

The Emperor of Austria had brought process against Louis

Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, to restrain him from issuing certain bits of paper which he had caused to be printed in England, for the purpose of circulation in Hungary.

Translated into our tongue, the wording of these strips of paper was as follows:

"One Florin.

"This monetary note will be received in every Hungarian state and public pay office as

"'One Florin in Silver.'

"Its nominal value is guaranteed by the state. In the name of the nation. "Kossuth, Louis."

It was shown that more than one hundred millions of these florin notes had been prepared, and were intended to be used in Hungary as money.

The Emperor contended that "the introduction of said notes into Hungary will create a spurious circulation, and thereby cause great detriment to the state and to the subjects of the plaintiff."

It further appeared in evidence that the Emperor had surrendered to the National Bank of Austria the privilege of supplying the Empire with paper money, and doubtless this bank was the instigator of the Bill in Equity brought against Kossuth. The National Bank of Austria had the same feeling against Kossuth that our Whiskey Trust has against the Moonshiner. In each case, the name and power and money of the Government is used by a Monopoly to stamp out Competition.

In delivering his opinion, the Lord Chancellor uttered this truism: "The right of issuing notes for the payment of money, as part of the circulating medium in Hungary, seems to follow from *the right to create money belonging to the supreme power in every state. This right is not confined to the issue of portions of the precious metals of intrinsic value according to their weight and fineness, but under it portions of the coarser metals, or of other substances, may be made to represent varying amounts in gold and silver, for which they may pass current.*"

In 1907, when I gave out from Washington, an interview advocating the issue of treasury notes, *to stop the Panic*, then raging; and stating that the creation of money had always been a sovereign prerogative of the Government, the *Washington Post*,—a great leading newspaper,—declared, in effect, that I was talking nonsense. "Mere rot," said the *Post*.

I am so accustomed to that kind of answer that I don't mind it much, but it's rough on the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, isn't it?

No Greenbacker, no Fiat Money crank, no Rag Baby lunatic, ever stated more distinctly the right of the nation *to create money*, as "*a right belonging to the supreme power in every*

state." than did this poor benighted Judge, presiding over the highest court of the most enlightened nation on earth.

Let us pity this Lord Chancellor. He had not had the inestimable advantage of learning finance from the American daily paper.

Kossuth was enjoined from issuing the notes, upon the sole ground that he was an exile in England, with no *de facto* authority in Hungary. He, himself, had admitted that the Emperor Francis Joseph reigned over Hungary, and was, *in fact*, its Emperor. For this reason, the Chancellor held, properly, that the Emperor, alone, had the right to supply Hungary with notes to be used as money.

In the history of the world there never was a period when a strong, orderly government allowed a subject to coin money. The state, invariably, held on to this mighty lever, as one of the indispensable prerogatives of sovereign power. To make laws, to appoint public functionaries, to levy taxes, to control navigable streams, to police the public highways, to control the army and navy, to hold the national purse and sword, to negotiate treaties with other nations, to regulate foreign commerce, to establish courts, to declare war or make peace, and *to create money*, were among the universal, inseparable attributes of royalty.

When the state was weak, powerful vassals waged private war, robbers infested the highways, pirates roamed the seas, and *private citizens created money*. When the state recovered its strength, it invariably swept the pirate off the sea, the robber off the highway, put down the strife of lord against lord, and *took back,—with stern admonitions,—the exclusive right to create money*.

Historians, writing of the Dark Ages, never fail to tell us how the anarchy of the times revealed itself in the disintegration of sovereign power. Private citizens encroached upon the state; the lords usurped the prerogatives of the King; the security of the rights of the individual disappeared. Each man held what he or his order *were strong enough to hold*, and no more. Even in the Middle Ages, it required all the resolute courage of the strongest Kings to redeem the sovereign prerogatives which the feudal lords had arrogantly usurped.

As chaos gave way to systematic government, the state was seen to have reconquered the sovereign attributes which the haughty nobles had usurped; and thereafter no lord had courts of his own, dungeons of his own, gibbets of his own, warfare of his own, or money coinage of his own. *The King's law, the King's courts, the King's money, were supreme and exclusive.*

But such daily papers as the *Washington Post* scornfully

repel the statement that the sovereign *created money*. "Mere rot," says the *Post*. So?

Was gold usable, *as money*, before the King placed his stamp upon it and declared, by law, that a certain amount of gold *thus stamped*, should be a guinea? *Did God make pounds, shillings and pence, or did the King do it?* Was silver usable as money until similarly favored by the law and the royal stamp? Could one take a silver cup and go into the market, and pass it about *as money*? Could the King himself, take the gold plate off his table, and go into the market, and circulate the gold plate *as money*?

Before the passage of the law making the stamped gold *legal tender*, *MONEY* does not exist. The law and the stamp make the money out of the gold. God made the pine tree, but the sawmill makes the lumber. God made the chicken, but the cook makes the *fricassee*. God made the swine, but never the sausage. Pardon the seeming irreverence and homeliness of the illustrations:—we are trying to reach the understanding of the editors of the daily papers.

Ricardo declared that the universal adoption of gold and silver as money metals had been an immense benefit to the world, for they drove out such clumsy currency as the *Wooden Stick* of England. ("Tally rod" of the British exchequer), the *Tobacco* of Maryland and Virginia, the *Peltries*, of the Western States, *Wampum* of New England, *Leather* of France and Spain, *Bark* of China, *Lead* of Burmah, etc.,—but he said that the time had come when a still greater benefit to the world would result from the abandonment of metallic money, altogether, and the adoption of a scientific paper currency.

Upon this, all independent thinkers who understand the subject, have long been agreed. Those who really know how completely the Money Trust dominates the world, and how that remorseless tyranny is based upon metallic money, cannot but denounce, with "divine indignation," the horrible greed of the comparatively few money-changers who use the *coin fetich* to hypnotize and plunder the nations of earth. When gold threatens to be plentiful, (as was the case after the discoveries in California), the money-changer loses his affection for gold and pays his court to silver; when silver becomes too common and gold scarce, silver loses favor and gold is again the Money King's favorite. Even now, paid writers of the Money Trust are demonstrating with admirable skill, the fact that the present panic has been caused by the huge increase in the output of the gold mines.

Why does the Money Trust want to limit the supply of real money? For the same reason that any other Trust wants to limit the supply. The bankers seek control, and the smaller the volume of real money, the more easily they can control it.

If the bankers control the money, they rule. Even the Emperor of Germany, with all of his imperious arbitrariness, would never dare to go to war until he had consulted the Rothschilds, Bleichroders, and other monarchs of the realm of money. This tyranny of the banker is world-wide. Come war or peace, come famine and pestilence, come seven fat years or seven lean years, the banker rules; and he does it with "coin." He first chains the nations to the word "coin;"—then he gets his grip on the supply of "coin;"—thus he holds the chain which fetters the globe.

How simple it would be to shatter the chain and escape this odious servitude, *by doing precisely what Louis Kossuth proposed to do for Hungary!* By the exercise of that right which the Chancellor of Great Britain declared to be a part of the supreme power of every state, a scientific system of paper currency could be created, *based on the strength of the state*, answering the needs of every citizen of the state, and absolutely independent of the bankers. To smash the Money Trust, whose monstrous rapacity preys upon every nation, *it is but necessary that the state shall assert its inherent power to create its own currency.* A dollar, whether in metal or paper, should be inscribed, "*This is a dollar.*" That declaration, and the law which makes the dollar a legal tender for debts, are sufficient. There should be simply the sovereign mandate, "*This is a dollar.*" Absolutely nothing more is necessary to make that currency as good and as strong *as the Government which creates it.*

All governments, being composed of human beings, *may* perish. Of course when the Government is overturned, its currency is lost. *But that is true of its bonds, also.*

The editors of our daily papers are dreadfully uneasy, lest the small notes issued by the Government should go the way of Confederate money. *But why are they not nervous about the bonds?*

If the Union should go to pieces, as the Southern Confederacy did, the bonds would fare no better than the notes. How about that, gentlemen?

THE KING'S STRUMPET INTRODUCES MODERN FINANCE.

Commenting upon the manner in which the Money Trust in the United States has been allowed to usurp the sovereign power to create money, I declared,—in the Washington interview,—that this surrender of royal prerogative to private uses had its origin—in modern times—in the concession which Barbara Villiers coaxed out of her dissolute lover, Charles II.

The *Washington Post* found this statement to be peculiarly aggravating and inaccurate. It was mere rot, of course. All

the same, the statement is capable of proof. In his learned and most admirable works on Money, Alexander Del Mar, formerly director of the Bureau of Statistics of the United States, has a separate volume devoted to the Barbara Villiers episode. This recognized authority on the subject of Money shows how the East India Company, acting through the King's mistress, decoyed Charles II into sanctioning a scheme which gave to the Company and to the goldsmith class, control over the royal mint. The law by which this was done is known as the "Mint Act of 1666," and the bribe to the Villiers woman is named in the Act.

The "joker" clause of this Act was so framed that the goldsmith class and the East India Company obtained almost absolute control of *the supply of money*. Moreover, these same intriguers secured a fourth charter for the East India Company, in 1677, which authorized the corporation to coin in India *with its own stamp* gold, silver, copper and lead.

The Constitution of the United States expressly invests the Federal Government with every sovereign prerogative necessary to its performance of those functions for which it was created. To make peace and war, to collect and disburse taxes, to control national and foreign commerce, to make laws and enforce them, to create offices and fill them, to control the army and navy, *to create money*,—are among the necessary sovereign powers conferred upon the general Government. To surrender any one of these royal prerogatives in whole or in part, *is to maim the Government*. Who would not protest, if it were proposed to delegate to private individuals or corporations the power of regulating foreign commerce? Where is the man in public life who would dare to propose that the Government should surrender to private individuals or corporations the power to control the army, or the navigable waters, or to operate our postal system? Yet, in abdicating in favor of six thousand national bankers *the sovereign prerogative of creating money*, the Government has surrendered a power infinitely more precious than that of regulating foreign commerce.

The very life-blood of the commercial and industrial world is money,—the artificial creation by which we have agreed to take the measure of the value of all commodities, in exchange. And we have surrendered, to a rapacious six thousand, *the terribly dangerous power of saying how much life-blood shall flow into the veins of the body-politic!*

With their unconstitutional and calamitous Gold standard, their absorption of all the surplus cash of the national treasury, and their usurpation of the right to stamp their own notes as money, the six thousand national bankers have as complete a trust as the Standard Oil, or the Steel Trust.

What a shameful spectacle, that of a Government of 100,000,000 people *chained to a fetich by a handful of Wall Street rascals!*

Listen to the Supreme Court of the United States, (39 Barb. 427), announcing its decision in *Hague vs. Powers*:

"Money is the medium of exchange—the standard or representative of all commercial values. It is that which men receive in exchange and in satisfaction of labor, and its various products; and *whether it is intrinsically valuable or otherwise*, it is the standard of value by which alone *they are all measured*. Gold and silver are *not naturally money*, any more than any other metal product or fabric. *They are made so by law only.*

"These metals become money by the force and operation of law alone.

"The power (to create paper money) is clearly one of the attributes of Governmental sovereignty and may be exercised wherever it is deemed necessary or proper by the sovereign power."

Thus the highest Court of the United States has done, as the highest court of Great Britain did,—made a clear statement of a fact that is as old as government itself, and which was never disputed until the money-changers, using the libertine King's harlot as their tool, took possession of the irresistible and sovereign power to control the money supply of the world.

WHAT WALL STREET STANDS FOR.

Mention Wall Street and people think of the good Samaritan, Jason Gould; of the gentle philanthropist, "Commodore" Vanderbilt; of that international humanitarian, Belmont; and of that peroration of unselfishness J. Pierpont Morgan. Around the names of these men and their confederates cling many a tender recollection. There are "pools" to be remembered, and "trusts" that dare oblivion. There are "reorganization" schemes in which millions were stolen.

There are secret dickers with party leaders, in which the legislation which was to follow the campaign was bought and sold before the first speech of the campaign had been made to those unsuspecting innocents—the people. There are back-room deals in bonds—National bonds—by which, in whispered confidence, a mighty nation was mortgaged for a whole generation—said nation being stretched, at the time, in horizontal repose, snoring according to orthodox custom, and knowing nothing until too late—as usual.

There are private bank-parlor conclaves in which half a dozen men, with slippered feet comfortably stretched beneath the council board, laid out colossal schemes of taxation which should compel payment from every bale of merchandise,

bushel of grain, pound of meat, ton of hay, bag of cotton on the North American Continent; a colossal tax levied under the name of freight rates—a tax which should give those who levy it 16 cents for hauling 200 miles a bushel of corn which the man whose six months of labor produced it sold for 32 cents—a tax which no Supreme Court will stay; no Legislature check; no victims resist!

All these are to be remembered, and many others besides.

CHARACTER OF WALL STREET MEN.

And who are these mighty men of Wall Street? What are their natures, purposes, ideals, methods? What is their work after it is done? In private life it may be, and probably is, the fact that most of these Wall Streeters are exemplary citizens. They are, doubtless, good husbands, fathers and friends. As old Thomas Carlyle said, "God forbid that any human creature should be without virtue." In their relations to their fellow-men the Wall Streeters are honest after their own standard, and scrupulously exact. That is to say, they observe the rules of the game. The stealing from the public, and from each other, is done with the nicest regard to the proprieties. The rascality is of the sort called "eminently respectable."

How to get his pound of flesh without drawing blood was the puzzle of Shylock; how to rob a compatriot and dearly beloved brother without violating the laws against robbery is the conundrum upon which the Wall Streeter constantly whets his brain.

And he goes to church with his family every Sunday in a most decent and commendable way.

In Wall Street will be found the American business man in his highest state of development. His knowledge of the affairs which concern him is vast and ready. There is not a rusty piece in all his mental machinery. He is awake from his shoe-strings up. He can go to the marrow of business matters as unerringly as a foxhound tells fox from hare. He is a masterful man, and he knows it.

He controls those who control Presidents and Cabinets. He writes no editorials, but he owns the man who does. He makes no stump speeches, but he can buy all the eloquence he needs. He lingers among the scene-shifters, at the back of the big screen, and grins sardonically as the audience in front applauds the puppets; he pays the man who pulls the wires.

WALL STREET AND CLEVELAND.

Grover Cleveland was bull-headed, was he? Had lots of backbone, had he? And yet how neatly these matchless man-

agers of Wall Street manipulated the pompous Cleveland. They created an atmosphere about him; surrounded him with their Benedicts, their Whitneys, their Lamonts, their Morgans; they piloted him into secure harbors, where he found "Golden Fleece"; they softened his way to fortune, and thus they made him their own.

Bull-headed? Since our Republic was founded no President has been so blind a Wall Street tool as Grover Cleveland.

Louis XIV strutted about the grand halls and courts of Versailles, bewigged and bedizened till he seemed a god. He profoundly believed that he had a despotic will which no living creature ventured to oppose. In literal truth he was the unconscious slave of a sly old woman—who in turn was the tool of a sly old priest.

But Louis did not know; and Cleveland did not know. Madame de Maintenon and history knew, however, as to Louis; and Wall Street and the country know as to Cleveland.

SECRET OF WALL STREET'S POWER.

After all, what does Wall Street represent especially?
It represents the power of Money.

There is yet a book to be written about money. The man and the task will some day meet. Nothing is more certain than that the world still lacks a true knowledge of that tremendous factor in modern life called Money. There is something about it which none of the books tell. Its agency in human affairs is more far-reaching and omnipotent than the economists claim.

"Money is a medium of exchange," says some light gentleman, speaking glibly. Yes, so it is. But why, then, is so small a portion of it out at work perfecting said exchanges? There are countless exchanges waiting to be made, eager to be made, clamoring to be made—why, then, does not your "medium of exchange" get down to business and go to perfecting said exchanges?

"Money is a measure of value," says another glib speaker. Yes, so it is. But why is it that the measure of value makes three bales of cotton worth less now than one bale was worth thirty-odd years ago? The bale of cotton will make just as many frocks or shirts as it ever did, and is therefore unchanged in value.

THE MEASURE OF VALUE.

Why, then, does the "measure of value" take three bales now where it formerly took but one?

With respect to each other, commodities produced by labor have not changed their relative value within these thirty years.

Were barter the rule of commerce, corn, wheat and cotton would exchange, the one for the other, upon the same relative terms they bore to each other thirty years ago. It is only when these commodities measure themselves against money that they shrink to one-sixth. Why is this, ye dealers in glib talk?

"Money being a mere medium of exchange, you can no more alter the value of produce by altering the volume of money than you can alter the quantity of molasses by multiplying the number of quart cups."

Thus speaks another glib talker. Suppose you double the size of the quart cup, you get half the number of quarts of molasses, do you not? The entire amount of the money is the quart cup which measures the entire amount of the produce. Alter the amount of money, and you alter the size of your quart cup, do you not?

"Money is an agency of civilization," says another.

Is it not also an agency of barbarism? Is it not a fearful instrument of oppression? Is it not a tyrant of values rather than a measure? Is it not rather a menace to civil liberty than a hope? Cannot the man who has the money become the torturer, the executioner, the dispenser of life and death to the man who has not got it?

It is so if the laws are framed in that direction. Put certain laws back of money, and there is no realm it cannot conquer with its oppressive and aggressive force.

Consider our legal-tender laws. No tax, no debt can be paid without money. Before any safety can be had from tax collector or sheriff, one must take his labor or produce into the market and buy money with it.

Suppose there be no money in the market seeking those commodities. "Result, misery," said Mr. Micawber.

Suppose the supply of money has been "cornered" by speculators; then the man with the produce is their helpless prey—for he must have some of that money. His produce, no matter how much more valuable than the debt, will not pay the debt; he must have money or he is lost.

Suppose you assess a poll tax of \$1 against the voter (as we do in the State of Georgia) and say that he must pay the dollar before he can vote: and suppose you decrease the supply of money to get the dollar, whereas it formerly required but one. In such a case, money and the laws you put behind it tend to disfranchise the citizen, and take away political power from the poor.

Suppose you load down a people with national debts and taxes, and decrease the supply of money until the production of labor cannot be sold for more than will pay the cost of living, will those people ever be free?

Whatever there is that is dangerous in money Wall Street represents. Concentrated money is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it. A "trust" on money is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

Money withdrawn from circulation and put into partnership with speculators in the necessities of life is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

Money used to corrupt the press, the bench, the Legislature, the ballot, is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

Money gathered into one vast fund to overwhelm competition in the interest of monopoly is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

Money dictating legislation in its own behalf, to the detriment of labor, land and produce, is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

Money seeking to build up a caste, an aristocracy of wealth founded upon special privileges, is dangerous, and Wall Street represents it.

AMERICA'S MONEY-MADE KINGS.

Here in Wall Street we see the actual rulers of this Republic. They are kings. Their realm is the Union; their subjects the citizens of the Union. Here sits the bondholder—"a prosperous gentleman." His wealth is securely fastened in a national bond—beyond the reach of fire and flood. No risks of trade does he run. No taxes does he pay. He lives on the taxes others pay—verily "a prosperous gentleman."

He is a king. The Government is under a mortgage to him, and so are its people. His nod shakes the Cabinet; his word is law to Congress. He paid paper money for bonds back in the "sixties"; he had the law so changed that he must be paid in "coin" and he compelled our "backbone" President to declare that coin meant gold.

Yonder goes the National Banker, "lording the lean earth", and so forth. He not only enjoys every toothsome Government favor the bondholder enjoys, but he has gone and incorporated himself into a bank, elected himself president thereof, put his son in as cashier and his nephew as teller, and is paying the Government fifty cents on the hundred for the privilege of getting Government notes, which he can lend at \$8 on the hundred. To get this privilege he doesn't invest a cent beyond what he has already invested in the bond.

He is a king. He pays no Federal tax on his bond; he gets a handsome revenue from the taxes others pay; he nets \$7.50 on the hundred upon the special privilege of lending Government-issued notes. The people who need the money and do not share his privilege of issuing it have to come to him

for it; pay his own price to get it. Every little bank in the land looks up to him in awe and reverence. His power stretches as far as his capital can reach, and his capital reaches to the uttermost limits of this Republic.

Here in his private office, calm and inscrutable, sits the railway president. He is a king. He can put his toll dish into every hopper in America. No citizen can go to market or return without paying him tribute. No commodity moves without his fiat. No business lives save at his mercy. He can strike the life out of the proudest city with discriminating rates. He can crush any enterprise with rebates given to its rival.

Little does he fear your President. His retainers sit in the Cabinet, in the Senate, in the House. Is he afraid of the law? Why, the judge was his lawyer and still is his tool. Does he tremble when the editor passes? Hardly. The editor loves free rides, fat advertisements and buyers of big blocks of doubtful stock. Does he regard the public? With a snort of contempt he quotes Vanderbilt's remark on said public. Does he obey State Constitutions? He tramples them till they are flat and lays his monopoly upon the violated laws as he would lay steel rails on cross-ties. He knows the power of money, and he knows it has qualities not analyzed in the books. He knows that the man who has it rules the men who haven't.

THE LAIR OF TRUSTS.

Over there sit the members of the trust. They are kings. They agreed one night on a Nail Trust, and on the morrow every builder in the Union was kneeling at their feet and paying the tribute. On every other article necessary to the demand of modern life they will in turn fix their grip. Tomorrow it will be some article of food; next day it will be coal; then again some article without which houses cannot be built, farm products marketed or home life made endurable.

Thus a hungry horde of combines make their lair in Wall Street and thence prowl forth into every field of industry and human endeavor.

That is what I see in Wall Street. To me it but typifies the evils of our Government—evils which have grown up rapidly since the Civil War and which now threaten the life of the Republic.

In Wall Street I see the power of money to oppress, to enslave, to plunder, to corrupt, to revolutionize.

In Wall Street I see the power of money to defy the law and to buy the law—a power which so dictates the statutes that money, once the mere agent of commerce, is now its master; once the mere tool of exchange, is now its autocrat;

once the ready friend of the producer, is now his deadliest foe.

What laws are those upon which Wall Street has built its power? Our corporation laws; our transportation laws; our national banking laws; our laws contracting the currency; our laws against silver; our laws exempting wealth from Federal taxation.

Under these vicious statutes Wall Street has revolutionized our Government and turned it into a moneyed aristocracy; has fettered commerce till it can hardly move; has levied such tolls on the highways that produce dreads shipment.

The Wall Street influence is the chief criminal of the age. It represents the spoilation of the producer by the non-producer; the plunder of the weak by the strong; the rifling of the greenhorn by the sharper; the robbery of the merchant vessel by the pirate; the foray of the feudal chief against the unarmed traders passing his castle.

Not one dollar did the bondholder of Wall Street ever add to the Nation's store of wealth. Not one dollar did the banker, railroad president, stock speculator or trust organizer ever produce.

Afar off, in the thousand fields of industry, the producer is adding to the Nation's store of wealth. In the mine, the quarry, the mill, the shop, the field and the forest the laborer is bent to his task. He brings forth more food, more raiment, more lumber, more coal, more iron, more silver and gold, more brick and marble to add to the world's supply of necessities, comforts and luxuries.

But here in Wall Street is enthroned the non-producer. His constant care it is to watch the producer and relieve him of his wealth as fast as he produces it. The laws have been so deftly framed that no violence occurs as the property changes hands. In the old times the person robbed had at least the chance to fight for his chattels, his lands and his tenements. He could die like a brave man, sword in hand, in defense of purse, of goods, of home and fireside. That was in the old barbarous days, and "they do those things better" in these civilized and Christian latitudes.

NO HOPE FOR THE PRODUCER.

How can the producer fight for his goods now? If he dared to raise his arm he would be a rebel, an outlaw. He would not be fighting the Wall Street robber. He would be fighting some State or Federal officer who unconsciously acts as Wall Street's agent.

If a shipper of fruit, vegetables or melons loses his entire shipment, and has to pay freight besides, whom can he fight? How can he reach the Wall Street railway king who confis-

cated his shipment by levying upon it extortionate freight rates?

If an oil mill starts up and is crushed by the Rockefeller trust—the railroad king helping by giving discriminating rates—whom can the plundered victim fight?

If the West Point Terminal people come down to Georgia in palace cars, work a reorganization scheme on the Central Railroad of Georgia, sell the property at public outcry, bid it in for themselves, and thus plunder men, women and children to the extent of ten million dollars, whom can the widows and the orphans fight?

And if J. Pierpont Morgan's company takes charge of the Central and waters its watered stock up to \$50,000,000 (whereas the genuine stock was but \$7,500,000), whom can the merchants and farmers fight when they are fleeced to pay dividends upon forty millions of imaginary values?

If these Wall Street monarchs make a "corner" upon any article of food, clothing, fuel or other prime necessity, and thus, in violation of the law, wring a tribute out of the unwilling hand of consumers everywhere, it is robbery, isn't it? Yet the person robbed has no chance to stand at bay and resist.

If Wall Street forms a trust on gold, compels the Government to establish the rule of payment in gold only, and thus holds the limited supply which must be had by those who are in debt to meet their almost unlimited demands, can any cheek but pale at the contemplation of this tremendous trap in which the lambs will be caught and sheared?

And where can any fight come in?

RESISTANCE SEEMS FUTILE.

If Wall Street by its gold standard policy and its "corner" on the supply of gold can compel the Government itself to come into the trap, and to issue bonds, bonds, bonds, to get gold, and if these bonds are merely mortgages upon the Republic—the holders of which pay no tax, while the interest on the mortgage is paid from the taxes of others—who is so blind as not to see that the Government itself lies prone in the dust with the iron heel of Wall Street upon its neck?

"Money is a measure of value" they tell me. Just so. Now give control of this measure to Wall Street and Wall Street can so manipulate the size of the measure that intrinsic value almost disappears. Commodities, in the last analysis, must exchange for that amount of money actually in circulation. The man who must have money to pay rent, cost of living, taxes or mortgages can only get a share of the money which is actually in market. The less money there is in the market

the more labor and produce and land he must give to get some of the money.

Make the legal-tender laws rigid, as we have done, make money the one indispensable thing as we have done, and then give Wall Street the control of both the supply of money and the demand for it, as we have done, and if Wall Street does not catch all the wealth it wants in this deadly and comprehensive snare it will be because Wall Street's wants are a shoreless sea.

THE STREET'S VICTORS AND VICTIMS.

But the afternoon wears away, evening comes on and the battle is over in Wall Street—for the day. The chieftains have drawn off their forces and for a few hours there will be rest, coupled with plannings for tomorrow's battle. Some of the Wall Streeters come forth flushed with victory. They have borne down all opposition, routed their foes and levied suitable "indemnities" upon the vanquished.

Those who have lost the day will retreat as best they may, reform their shattered lines, if they can, and be ready for another combat later. Or perhaps the defeat has been a rout—a Waterloo—and there is no tomorrow. In that event a brief note from the coward to the wife he leaves alone, and then suicide.

But the victors waste no thoughts over the victims. The private car waits at the depot, and the yacht is ready at the wharf. On board steps the victor, bound for his palace in the mountain or his castle on the Hudson.

The chateaux of the old French noblesse were never so grand as the castles of the Wall Streeters; nor did my lord, the French Marquis, ever hedge himself round about with more of the exclusiveness befitting blue blood than doth this Wall Street son of a soap-boiler, a pelt peddler or a mouse-trap vender. In his castle there is splendor beyond the descriptive coloring power of words. There is the feast and the dance, there is wine and wassail, there is purple and fine linen, there is money until the horses and dogs fare more sumptuously than half the children of the soil, whose labor produced what Wall Street enjoys.

And I wonder sometimes, if these men never think of the men they plunder, of the women they widowed, of the children they orphaned. In the warmth and glow of their own imperial homes I wonder if they never think of the hearths that are cold, of the homes that are desolate, of the families scattered, of the old men and women, of the boys and the girls that have been driven shelterless into the storm in order that Wall Street might have another million which it did not need.

In their dreams do these kings of finance—these feudal lords of the corporations—never see the haggard faces of the men they have ruined? Do they never see the pale faces of the suffering women? Do they never hear the cry of the children—the ragged, hungry, homeless waifs—out of whose heart Wall Street has stricken hope and love and faith?

Even the stony heart of Napoleon felt a pang as he looked over the field of battle and noted the dead and dying. If Wall Street has any heart and feels any pang, the proofs are yet to be had.

THE PEOPLES ONLY WEAPONS.

"I can hire one-half the people to shoot the other half," said Jay Gould, when someone suggested armed resistance to one of his marauding expeditions. He did not fear armed resistance to anything Wall Street might choose to do. He was quite right. Wall Street could hire half the suffering people to shoot the other half.

It is precisely upon this principle that nations are governed and tyranny supported. Just as we hired Indians to kill Indians, England hires Africans to shoot Africans and sent Egyptian troops to slaughter their brethren up the Nile. The Sepoy rebellion was put down partly with Sepoys; Hindoostan was conquered by the use of Hindoo troops, and not long ago we saw England sending one conquered people, the Hindoos, to conquer another, the Soudanese. Thus it goes.

We could never throw off the domination of Wall Street by an appeal to arms. If it cannot be done by voting, it cannot be done at all. If the people have not sense enough to vote Wall Street away they have not sense enough to shoot it away. A man who hasn't got sense enough to know what to do with his ballot, wouldn't have sense enough to know what to do with his gun.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PANIC OF 1893.

After Mr. Cleveland had sent Henry Villard and Don M. Dickinson to Washington, in the winter of 1893, and failed to secure from the Fifty-second Congress the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, the National Bankers began to show their hand.

It was seen that no ordinary pressure on Congress would secure the demonetization of silver. It was claimed that the Panic Bulletin was issued March 8, just four days after Cleveland's second inauguration.

What was the program laid down in the Panic Bulletin?

1. The interests of the National Banks require immediate financial legislation.

2. Silver, silver certificates and Treasury notes must be retired and National Bank-notes, upon a gold basis, be made the only kind of paper money.

3. Bonds required to be issued as a basis for the banknote circulation.

4. Pressure must be brought upon the people, especially in sections of the country where the free silver sentiment was strong. Circulation to be reduced, loans called in, credit refused and general distrust spread broadcast through the land.

5. Demand for an extra session of Congress to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman Law.

This was the program laid down by the Bulletin. Did it agree with the action of the National Bankers? We shall see.

On the 11th of April, 1893, Grover Cleveland appointed Conrad C. Jordan to be Assistant Treasurer of the United States.

In this capacity Jordan had control of the Sub-Treasury at New York. The Sub-Treasury is the great business establishment of the Federal Government. It is one of the associated banks of New York City.

Jordan was a banker, the President of the Western National of New York City, and was recommended for the position by the New York National Bank Presidents. He was the go-between—the link which connected the National Bankers with Cleveland and the Federal Government.

His nomination was confirmed on the 15th day of April, and on the 20th he was in Washington with his bond and conferring with Cleveland.

- From that hour things moved with wonderful rapidity.

Jordan left Washington on the 21st, arrived in New York at 5:30 in the afternoon, went directly to the Chase National Bank, Nassau Street, where he met Henry W. Cannon, Presi-

dent of the Chase National Bank, and J. Edward Simmons, President of the Fourth National, two of the most active and influential of those who controlled the associated banks and who constitute the "New York National Bank Ring."

It must have been an important meeting, for that night Cannon left New York for Washington on a midnight train, arriving in Washington Saturday morning, April 22, and while there had interviews with Grover Cleveland. On the morning of April 22nd, Jordan was sworn into office, and his first act, official or semi-official, was to arrange for a meeting with certain National Bank Presidents in the afternoon.

I can give you the names of most of the National Bank Presidents who met Jordan that afternoon. The meeting was said to be informal, and its proceedings were carefully guarded. But it was of such importance that Jordan went to Washington on a late evening train to make a report of its proceedings.

It was generally believed at the time, and there is little doubt of its truth, that Jordan was simply given the office to mask his character as confidential agent between Grover Cleveland and the New York National Bank Presidents.

After a conference with Cleveland on Sunday morning, April 23d, Jordan and Cannon returned to New York, arriving there late in the evening. Before leaving Washington Jordan wired certain National Bank Presidents to meet him at a private house uptown.

What happened at that meeting we can only surmise. I mention it to show the connection between the National Bank Presidents and Grover Cleveland.

The next morning, April 24, Jordan was at his desk. One of the first things he did was to notify the National Bank Presidents and officers of trusts and other companies to meet him that day at the Sub-Treasury. This was a dark-lantern meeting, and no one would give out the proceedings. But what followed shortly afterward, and the action taken by those who attended that meeting, justifies the belief that that convention was called for the purpose of arranging a concerted attack upon the national industries, agriculture, commerce, property and social order of the American people—the assault to be directed by the New York National Bank Presidents—as the swiftest and surest means of forcing Congress to repeal the silver law—to give the country Cleveland's "Object-Lesson."

Nine National Bank Presidents met John G. Carlisle at the Williams House on April 27th, presumably to complete the arrangements for the attack. No doubt Cleveland had approved the conclusions reached on the 24th, and sent Carlisle to sanction them.

Carlisle's meeting with the Bank Presidents that day was, as you know, a subject of much newspaper comment. The

meeting was said to have been one of "effusive cordiality," and, in view of the events which quickly followed, there is little doubt but what it partook of the nature of "two hearts that beat as one."

It was there that the National Bankers proposed an issue of bonds. But Carlisle, like a young girl, although keen to marry, intimated that it was "too sudden."

This was the last of the series of meetings between the Government officials and the National Bank Presidents preceding the panic.

Everything was now ready to give the country the "Object-Lesson."

Within the next forty-eight hours the worst financial calamity that ever befell the people was to break upon them.

At this time there was nothing in the industrial situation to precipitate a panic. Prices had been low for several years, and there was none of the spirit of speculation which usually precedes a panic.

Cleveland himself volunteered to say: "Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events, nor of conditions relating to our natural resources, nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promise of remunerative production and manufacture, with universal invitation to safe investment and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side."

Thus the people and all those engaged in industrial and productive enterprises are exonerated.

Who are the guilty persons?

The men who did just what the Panic Bulletin describes.

The bankers who demanded the practical demonetization of silver; who demanded a special session of Congress to secure it; who called in their loans and reduced their circulation; who demanded and secured the issue of bonds, and who now demand the retirement of the greenbacks.

Messrs. Branch and Reynolds and other National Bank advocates may be able to repudiate the Panic Bulletin, but they cannot successfully deny that every feature of the program it contained was carried out in detail by the men who practically control the National Bank system.

Four days after the Williams House meeting at which Secretary Carlisle was present, the New York banks began to call in their loans with brutal vindictiveness.

We are not left to conjecture the effect of such a policy on the New York Exchange. By the 5th of May the strain had become intense. The New York *Tribune* of May 6, referring to the condition of the market, said: "The enormous losses of

the last week, the utter demoralization of the buying power in the market and the practical paralysis of credit, promised a liquidation that, unless stayed, would have swept them all off their feet."

On May 7th the same paper said: "The effort of the Administration to bring the South and West to a full realization of the inevitable consequences of compulsory purchases of silver bullion has brought distress and perhaps ruin to many innocent persons—but there is no reason to suppose that it will be relaxed."

Within ten days from the time of the Williams House meeting between Cleveland's Secretary of the Treasury and the National Bank Presidents the panic had spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and for forty days it continued with unabated fury. On the 9th of May several Western banks were forced to close their doors.

"There is no lack of pressure," said the *New York Tribune* on the 22d of May.

On the 6th of June—six weeks after the Williams House meeting—the *New York Sun*, in its money article, said: "The Presidents of the New York National Banks think that the so-called 'Object-Lesson' has been carried far enough. They see nothing to be gained by a further shrinkage of values and unsettling of credits."

It is useless for me to detail the results of the panic.

From May 9th to 30th, inclusive, sixty banks were forced to suspend, and fifty-eight of them were in the doomed section—of South, West and Northwest.

From the time of the Williams House meeting, April 27th, to December 30, 1893, a period of eight months, more than fifteen thousand bankruptcies and suspensions had occurred. Over six hundred banks had been driven to the wall, and the loss of the country in round numbers was *SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS*.

But the National Bank Presidents had won their fight. They had carried out the program laid down in the Panic Bulletin, an extra session of Congress had been called and the purchasing clause repealed.

That the "Object-Lesson" was intended for the West and South is evidenced by the records. Out of 169 banks failing from March 5th to August 4th, five only were in Eastern States, forty-eight in Southern and 151 in Western States—Dunn's Reports.

Dunn's Report for July 21, 1893, says: "A large proportion of the suspended Colorado banks and mercantile institutions will pay in full and resume business, inability to borrow money on or sell ample collateral alone being the cause of the Denver banks closing their doors."

No doubt the panic reached proportions not at first intended by the National Bank Presidents and threatened their own financial standing, as Mr. Branch suggests is the case in time of panics. But they have a remedy, no doubt decided upon beforehand. While they refused credit to the Southern and Western banks, they issued Clearing House Certificates to the extent of \$63,152,000 to themselves, an act which was in violation of the law.

There is so much evidence obtainable to the effect that the National Bankers are guilty of every count in the indictment contained in the Panic Bulletin that a book could be filled with it.

In a speech in the United States Senate August 25, 1893, Senator David B. Hill, referring to the bankers, said: "They inaugurated the policy of refusing loans to the people even upon the best security, and attempted in every way to spread disaster broadcast throughout the land. These disturbers—the promoters of public peril—represented largely the creditor class, the men who desire to appreciate the gold dollar in order to subserve their own selfish interests, men who revel in hard times, men who drive harsh bargains with their fellow-men regardless of financial distress. It is not strange that the present panic has been induced, intensified and protracted by reason of these malign influences. Having contributed much to bring about the present exigency, these men are now unable to control it. They have sown the wind, and we are now all reaping the whirlwind together" (*Congressional Record*, Vol. XXV, Part 1, p. 865).

August 8, 1893; Senator Teller said, in a speech in the United States Senate:

"It is the height of folly that this is a panic caused by distrust of the currency." On the 29th of the same month the Senator from Colorado, referring to the Williams House meeting of Secretary Carlisle with the New York National Bank Presidents, said: "It is a most remarkable interview; it will go far to support the charges which I am not going to make on my own authority, but which I am going to make upon the authority of others, that this panic is a bankers' panic, brought by the action of the New York banks, and brought about for distinct purposes, which purposes were practically avowed on the 27th of April. The same things have been reiterated by the financial papers, and the policy is still continued up to the present hour. It had two objects in view. One was to secure from the United States a large issue of bonds, and the other to secure the repeal of the much-abused Sherman law."

The records show that the bankers accomplished both of these objects. They secured the repeal of the purchasing clause, and afterward the issue of \$262,000,000 in bonds.

In the same speech Senator Teller said: "There are many banks in the West, and some that I know of, which shut their doors because they could not draw the money that they had on deposit in New York" (*Congressional Record*, Vol. XXV, Part 1, p. 1022).

In its issue of August 20, 1893, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* said:

"When the future historian tells the world of the great financial panic of 1893, he will say: 'In the winter and spring months of that year the New York bankers and financiers sowed the wind, and in the summer months reaped the whirlwind.'

"We know of no arrangement of words that can more graphically describe the action of the New York financiers and the results of that action. Colonel Ingersoll, early in the season of disturbance, properly called this a 'bankers' panic.' Nor are the New York bankers alone to blame. Those in Boston and Philadelphia come in for their share."

But it is useless for me to continue to pile up testimony to further sustain my contention. Whether the Panic Bulletin is a "canard" or not, its suggestions were carried into effect. The bankers opposed silver, and, for the purpose of having the law providing for its issue repealed, they precipitated the panic and used the methods described in the Bulletin to accomplish their ends. They are opposed to greenbacks, and if necessary will, I have no doubt, precipitate another panic in order to have them retired. And it all goes to show that the control of the currency should be taken out of their hands.

THE PANIC OF 1907.

The foregoing is W. S. Morgan's story of one man-made Panic; let us now investigate another.

At the close of the Civil War, we had upwards of \$2,200,000,000 of paper currency. This currency was based on the wealth and strength of the entire nation. As population and business increased, this volume of currency should have been increased. Gold and silver being uncertain, the Government of all countries should see to it that the amount of money in circulation bears some reasonable proportion to the population and the commerce.

The chief function of money is to replace the old and clumsy system of bartering one commodity for another. With money, we measure values, for exchange purposes and for the payment of debts.

Consequently, it follows that money is a commercial instrument, whose duty it is to enable the commercial and industrial world to transact business. Logically, therefore, the

amount of money in circulation should bear some relation to the amount of work which it is intended to do. That is, the volume of money in actual circulation should bear some proportion to the volume of commerce.

Now, when the Civil War was over, the armies disbanded, and the industries of the country taking their first great leap upward, it is obvious that the Government should have kept its eye on the vast increase of production and of commerce, and should have proportionately increased the volume of currency, from year to year.

Just the reverse was done.

As population increased, the supply of money was diminished. As commerce expanded, the tool of exchange—*money*—was shortened.

As the *demand* for money became greater, the *supply* was made smaller.

Incredible to relate, the Government had no sooner conquered the seceding States and forced them back into the Union, than it began to wage deadly war upon the producers of the entire republic.

The Government went into the money-burning business.

It supplied itself with the necessary furnaces and, in Washington City, the currency of the country to the extent of *eighteen hundred millions of dollars* was deliberately, designedly, wickedly *burnt*.

Why was this done?

Because the bankers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia demanded it.

They had *cornered* the coin of the country, by means of the Exception Clause, and *they* had got all the bonds by means of the greenbacks which the Exception Clause had depreciated, and *now* they wanted all other kinds of paper currency destroyed, *in order that coin and bank paper might rule*.

And they had their way.

Both the old parties actively aided the bankers in consummating their conspiracy against the legitimate industries of the country.

The paper currency of the Government was almost entirely destroyed, and as the volume of currency shrank, *through the burning process*, prices fell, business failures multiplied, and the republic went through an era of Hard Times.

At first the obligations of the Government, which the bankers had increased as much as possible, were payable *in lawful money*.

Then they forced Congress to change it to *coin*.

Then they changed it again, and made it payable in *gold*.

They got the bonds *with the greenbacks*, which they had *purposely depreciated*, by the Exception Clause.

Then they *more than doubled their money* on the bonds, by compelling Congress to *change the money of payment*.

And at every step in this series of atrocious crimes against the people, *both* the old parties were the pliant tools of the conspirators.

In reaching their goal, the bankers and speculators not only dragged the country through several periods of depression and stringency, but brought upon it the Panics of 1873 and 1893.

Having contracted the money of final payment to *Gold*, and having *cornered* the gold, the remorseless Money Kings worked so triumphantly upon a servile Congress, that the Secretary of the Treasury was ordered to deliver over to those favored rascals the revenues which the Government raises by taxation.

All the Custom House receipts went directly to these National Bankers. The Internal Revenue taxes found their way to the same vaults.

The Government had a surplus—*on paper*. And it had a deficit—*in reality*.

Why had it a surplus?

Because it over-taxed the people.

Why had it a deficit?

Because it had loaned the money to those New York rascals, *and could not get it back!*

The National Banks had *more than two hundred and fifty million dollars* of public money, raised by taxation, and *the Government was in desperate need of it to pay operating expenses!*

Yet, when Mr. Cortelyou called for the ten millions which those rascals promised to pay on the first of January, he could not get a dollar!

Why did the panic come?

(1) Because the volume of real money was being decreased during a long period in which population and commerce increased.

(2) Because Government currency had been destroyed and bank paper put in its place.

(3) Because the law of "Reserves" had been sneaked through Congress, by the aid of both the old parties, by means of which the money of the country had first been drawn into the big cities, and then by another twist of the reserve law, *drawn chiefly to New York.*

Now, consider the situation which the politicians of the two dominant parties aided the New York thieves to bring about:

First, they burn the Government's own currency.

Second, they abdicate in favor of the national banks the sovereign function of supplying the country with money.

Third, they change the contract made with the bondholders

and allow those speculators on the necessities of their country to more than double the value of their investment.

Fourth, they violate the Constitution and establish the Single Gold Standard, thus narrowing the basis upon which all credit currency must necessarily rest.

Sixth, they not only allow the national bankers to use, free of charge, the credit of the Government in their business, but practically all of its surplus cash, as well.

Seventh, they pass laws which draw all the loanable funds of the country into New York.

Eighth, they permit the bankers to inflate the currency with various kinds of bank paper, until the financial system looks like a church turned bottom upwards and resting on the steeple.

Ninth, they have so little real money afloat that *less than one billion dollars* is available for the business transactions of 85,000,000 people, worth at least \$120,000,000,000, and doing a yearly business which is so vast that the human mind can hardly grasp it.

Then, one day, *somebody demanded actual cash*—and the church which had been nicely balanced on the tip of the steeple, *lost its balance*—and great was the crash thereof, as it fell over.

Thus, the Panic of 1907 came, and great was the havoc thereof.

HOW NEW YORK GETS THE MONEY.

Once upon a time, those who put their money into a bank, for safe-keeping until they wanted it, were supposed to have some rights.

The depositor was once regarded as a right decent sort of fellow, and the law made motions as though it wanted to protect him from thieves, speculators, stock-gamblers, forcible borrowers, and other speckled varieties of latter-day financiers.

With an eye to the protection of the depositor—a weak, filmy, watery eye, I admit—the law solemnly requested the bankers to maintain a certain amount of money where they could lay hands on it, at any time, so that if a depositor wanted a few dollars of his own money, he could get cash, instead of Chamber of Commerce due-bills.

At that time, the rogues' device of Clearing House Certificates had not entered the heads of those scoundrels of New York, who first forced that nasty stuff into circulation and set an evil example which others followed.

By the national bank act, each national bank is required to keep a reserve, in lawful money, to the extent of a certain per cent. of its deposits and circulation.

In some cities, named in the act, the reserve of actual money

required to be kept on hand, is twenty-five per cent.; in all others, fifteen per cent.

But the act further provides that three-fifths of this fifteen per cent. may consist of a balance due to these banks by the banks of St. Louis, Louisville, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, New York, Albany, Leavenworth, San Francisco, Washington City.

See how cleverly these schemers go about getting all the available money of the country into a few big cities!

But that isn't the worst of it. After the money has been drawn into these various "reserve cities," it must then be drawn into one big pond—New York.

Section 32 of the National Bank act provides, that one-half of the reserves required to be kept by these banks of the big cities may consist of deposits in the New York banks.

There you have it—a cleverly devised net work of canals which convey the currency, first into many big cities, and then into one.

And yet we marvel that everybody should have to bow down to New York and go to her, on our knees, *BEGGING FOR SOME OF OUR OWN MONEY!*

We are fools enough to vote our financial independence away, and then marvel at our chains.

We first say, by law, that the national banker shall be our financial master, and then we wonder at our slavery.

When these national banks came back to Congress, in 1903, to have their charters renewed for another twenty years, not a single Republican raised a voice of protest.

And not a single Democrat had the spunk and the patriotism to remind the country that the Democratic party, as now organized, owed its first great victory to the fight which Andrew Jackson waged upon this very question of national banks.

SHAMEFUL NATIONAL FINANCE.

In Great Britain, a short time ago, the national treasury found itself in possession of about thirty million dollars, over and above running expenses. In other words, the Government had a *surplus* on its hands.

What was done with it?

Every dollar of it was paid out on the national debt. Thus the burdens of the English people were reduced. The Surplus came from all the people, in the way of taxes collected. The money went back to all the people, in the way of paying the debt which the people, as a whole, owed to the creditor class.

That disposition of the Surplus was sensible, but not re-

markedly so. When an individual citizen is in debt and is paying interest, he generally feels like discharging the obligation and relieving himself of the burden. If he is a man of ordinary self-respect and prudence, he wants to free himself of bondage to those who hold the claims against him. Therefore, if he is honest as well as prudent, he will apply the first surplus money that he gets his hands on to the payment of his debts.

Among right thinking people, there are few terms of reproach which imply a more discreditable record than the saying, "*He is a man that won't pay his debts.*"

The disgrace commences when, the debt being a just obligation, the man who owes it has the money to pay it, and then refuses to do so.

Nations are but collections of individuals, and the same rules of common sense, common honesty, and common justice which apply to the individual citizen should apply to the nation. When a nation can pay out of debt, *the failure to do so is a national disgrace.*

Great Britain's huge debt grew mainly out of the wars waged by the English aristocracy against the democratic movement of revolutionary France. All the long, bloody, expensive struggles to compass the overthrow of Napoleon had their secret motive in the settled purpose of Kings and aristocracies to check the progress of "the Principles of the French Revolution."

Those dreaded principles were substantially the democracy for which George Mason and Thomas Jefferson stood.

Burdened with this tremendous debt, the English pay it off as fast as they can. It is not often that they have a surplus but, when they *do* have one, it gives them no embarrassment whatever. To reduce the debt with it is such a logical, common sense proposition, that it is adopted as a matter of course.

How differently we do things!

When we have a Surplus, *we give it to the National Bankers*, and allow the public debt to run on.

When Mr. Cleveland was President, it is true, the surplus was applied to the bonds. But the bonds were not due, and the world was amazed to see the Democratic President make a gift of sixty million dollars, in premiums, *for the privilege of paying 4 per cent. bonds that were not due.*

The money should have been disposed of in one of three ways: It should have returned to the people, as the surplus was returned in the days of President Andrew Jackson; or it should have been loaned out at interest until the bonds fell due; or it should have been used to buy the controlling interest in trunk-line railroads.

Congress could just as easily have authorized either of

these statesmanlike methods of getting rid of the surplus, as it did authorize that gift of \$60,000,000 to the bondholders.

But if the Democratic President, Cleveland, was most unwise and undemocratic in making a donation of huge premiums to the favored few, when he took the surplus into the market and bought bonds that were not due, what shall we say of the Republican President, Roosevelt?

The disposition which he made of the Surplus was the most shameful misuse of public money that has ever been known in the history of our Government.

Year in and year out, the National Banks kept and used an average of more than one hundred and fifty million dollars of the people's money. For the use of this they pay no interest at all. *The Government simply taxed this enormous surplus out of the pockets of the tax-paying masses, and made a gift of it, to a non-tax-paying class!*

The National Banks, practically, pay no national taxes whatever; yet the money of those who *do* pay the taxes is taken out of the treasury, and given in perpetual use, free of charge, to these pampered pets of the Government.

✓ *Can there be any law for taxing 85,000,000 people for the benefit of 5,000 national bankers?*

The question answers itself. Yet that is just what the Democrats, under Mr. Cleveland, did on a small scale, and what the Republicans, under Mr. Roosevelt, did on a large one. The Democratic administration of Woodrow Wilson continued this most evil and unlawful practice.

But the ugly feature of the Roosevelt system of favoritism is this: Bonds were falling due, and we had the money to pay these debts, but in spite of that fact he proposed to renew the note (refund the bonds) and let the debt run on at interest, instead of taking a portion of that \$71,000,000 which the pet banks were using and paying off the debt with it.

Thus the people will be burdened for another term of years with an interest-bearing debt, while a few pet banks continue to use, without interest, a huge surplus, *part of which would have paid the maturing notes.*

A private citizen who managed his business in that way would be clapped into a lunatic asylum.

Crazy for compound interest, on ten times more capital than they had invested in their business, the National bankers built up a huge sky-scraper whose foundation is the small end of the pyramid.

On one dollar of real money these greedy gentlemen, who railed against the "fifty cent dollar" of *Constitutional silver money*, based a credit currency of *ten to one*.

Crying fiercely for "Sound Money," they struck down the financial system of a hundred years.

Furiously denouncing the "Free Silver cranks," they changed the Constitution of the Fathers, without asking the consent of the States, and by a Treasury ruling, followed up by Act of Congress, *they illegally created a Gold Reserve, a Gold Standard, and a Credit Currency*, when the supreme law of the land—as interpreted by the highest Court—had established the system of Gold, Silver and Treasury notes.

The Gold and Silver were to be coined on equal terms, and the Treasury notes were to be issued as needed.

Thus, the elasticity feature was introduced into the original Constitutional system of our Fathers.

The precious metals were to be coined as they were dug from the mines and offered at the mints.

Treasury notes were to be issued in emergencies.

This Treasury note feature gave to the original system all the elasticity that it was safe to give.

Thus, Mr. Jefferson issued Treasury notes at the period of the Louisiana Purchase.

Mr. Madison issued Treasury notes during the War of 1812.

President Jackson issued them after his overthrow of the National Bank.

Mr. Lincoln issued them during the Civil War.

But the National Bankers dominate the government, and these modest gentlemen have always bitterly opposed the Treasury notes.

Why?

Because they want their own notes to furnish the elasticity feature of the Currency System.

Again, why?

Because they want the compound interest on these notes of theirs. Could anything be more evident?

Out of sordid and grasping selfishness, therefore, the National banks set in to destroy the Treasury notes issued under Mr. Lincoln, and they caused to be burned up nearly two thousand million dollars of National notes, before President Grant put his foot down and made them stop it.

In the place of the millions of destroyed Treasury notes, the National banks at once slipped *their* credit currency, of various sorts.

Upon this, they have earned enormously, in Compound interest.

They so hate the Treasury notes that they have been persistently endeavoring to drive Congress into ordering the destruction of the remaining \$346,000,000 of Greenbacks which General Grant saved.

HOW ENGLAND STOPS PANICS.

The Supreme Court declared that they came within the true intent and meaning of the Constitution. That decision has never been overruled. Therefore, it is law.

✓ Any panic could be arrested by the issuance of Treasury Notes. England and France are never desolated, now, by these man-made convulsions. The manner in which England dealt with them is thus described by Herbert Spencer, in his *Essays*, page 324:

When, in 1793, there came a general crash, mainly due to an unsafe banking system which had grown up in the provinces *in consequence* of the Bank of England monopoly—when the pressure, extending to London, became so great as to alarm the Bank-directors and to cause them suddenly to restrict their issues, thereby producing a frightful multiplication of bankruptcies, the Government (to mitigate an evil indirectly produced by legislation) determined to issue Exchequer-Bills of such as could give adequate security.

That is, they allowed hard-pressed citizens to mortgage their fixed capitals for equivalents of State-promises to pay, with which to liquidate the demands on them. The effect was magical. £2,202,000 only of Exchequer-Bills were required. The consciousness that loans could be had, in many cases prevented them from being needed. The panic quickly subsided. And all the loans were very soon repaid.

In 1825, again, when the Bank of England, after having intensified a panic by extreme restriction of its issues, suddenly changed its policy, and in four days advanced £5,000,000 notes on all sorts of securities, the panic at once ceased.

CHAPTER VI

CONTENTS.—SUBSIDIZING RAIL ROADS AND SQUANDERING THE PUBLIC LANDS.

SECTION 1. The first Land Grant Bill to aid a Rail Road corporation was introduced by Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, in the United States Senate, January 3, 1850.

It was a donation of public lands to the State of Illinois to aid the Central Railroad.

The line was from Chicago to Mobile and the lands donated lay in the States of Alabama, Mississippi and Illinois.

The Act passed the Senate, May 2, 1850. Stephen A. Douglas likewise introduced the first bill in behalf of the Pacific Rail Roads. It passed the Senate but was not acted on by the House.

The Act under which the Pacific Rail Road System was inaugurated passed Congress July 1, 1862, by an almost unanimous vote.

A more stupendous piece of jobbery was never legalized by forms of Law.

By a series of acts commencing with the above and ending with the Texas Pacific Act of March 3, 1871, Congress gave away to the corporations 144,538,134 acres of the people's land.

Where did the General Government get this land?

1st. By patriotic gifts from the States.

2d. By purchase from France and Mexico.

3d. By war with Mexico.

4th. By purchase from Texas.

Virginia alone gave the Government 165,659,680 acres; Georgia gave 56,689,930; North Carolina 29,000,000.

By purchase from France (the Louisiana purchase) we acquired 757,000,000 acres.

By purchase from Mexico (the Gadsden purchase, 1853) we obtained 65,000,000 acres.

By the war with Mexico we got 334,000,000 acres.

By purchase from Texas in 1840, 65,000,000 acres.

When money was the price, the taxes of all the people furnished the payment.

When the blood of the soldier was the price, the ranks of the people was the source from which it was drawn.

When the old States gave up their lands to the Government in such a splendid spirit of patriotism, it was surely with a view of benefiting all classes, for all time to come.

Let us see how special privilege and favor stepped in, and violated the generous purpose.

Under the first land grant act already referred to, Illinois got 2,595,000 acres of this land—the donation being 1,965 acres of land to *every one mile of road*. By charter, Illinois stipulated that the road must pay *her* from 5 to 7 per cent. of its gross annual income. Up to 1880 the State had thus derived \$8,000,000. The future annual income from the same source was estimated at \$30,000.

Yet after this yearly payment was allowed for, the road had such a fat thing, (growing out of the original grant) that its stock commanded a premium of \$45 in the market.

Under the same act the Mobile & Ohio Rail Road got (through the States of Alabama and Mississippi) 1,156,000 acres.

Under Act of 1852 the San Francisco and the Hannibal & St. Joseph Roads got 3,000 acres of land to every mile of road they actually built.

The aggregate was nearly 2,000,000 acres.

The miles of road built aggregated 584.

It would be tedious to detail each grant and its result in miles of Railroad, but I will give a few samples of net result.

Arkansas got the benefit of *one mile* of Rail Road for every *2,900 acres of land*.

Florida was made happy with a result of one mile of road for each 7,000 acres.

Alabama got one mile for each 3,385 acres.

To Louisiana the Rail Road swindlers gave one mile of road for each *7,000 acres* of land donated by the General Government.

Wisconsin got one mile for each 5,400 acres.

So it goes, all through the list.

Let it be kept in mind that this land belonged to all the people; was a sacred trust to supply future generations with homes; was granted by the Government to the States to aid them in having Rail Roads built; was granted to the corporations by the States, and that the corporations managed to gobble up on the average about 4,000 acres of the most fertile soil in America, for each mile of road they constructed.

SECTION 2. In a speech made in Congress, March 11, 1884, Hon. Wm. S. Holman sums up the Land Grant business as follows:

Number of acres donated to 58 Rail Road Corporations, 85,000,000 acres.

Number of acres given to the Pacific Rail Roads, 139,403,000.

They were not satisfied with land alone. They asked for money also.

The Government guaranteed the interest on the Bonds.

On July 1, 1876, the roads owed the people \$25,000,000, which the Government had paid as interest on these Bonds.

On January 1, 1883, the sum had grown to \$41,000,000.

By the official statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1890, the amount due by these Corporations to the Tax-payers of this country was nearly *seventy millions of dollars*—for interest already paid.

On January 17, 1888, an official report on the Pacific Railroads was made to Congress by the Commission appointed to investigate the relations of the corporations to the Government. From the Commission, Robert E. Pattison, the document took its name. The astounding facts set forth, the huge sums involved, the audacity of successful buccaneering, and the wholesale corruption of newspapers judges, legislatures, and Congress, together with the imperial territory taken from the Public Domain, has no parallel, unless it be the exploitation of Hindostan, by the India Company, and the Conquest of Egypt by European bondholders. Law's famous Bank was a virtuous bagatelle, compared to the *Credit Mobilier* of Ames, Hopkins, Crocker, Huntingdon, and Stanford.

The Commission found that the fictitious capitalization was \$172,000,000 in the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific, etc., as per the following official figures:

Company.	Mileage.	Cost.	Capitalization in bonds and stocks.	Amount of fictitious capital in securities upon completion of road.
Union Pacific.....	1,038.68	\$38,824,000	\$109,914,812	\$70,990,812
Kansas Pacific....	393.94	11,800,000	25,028,250	13,228,250
Central Branch....	100.00	2,731,347	4,200,000	1,468,653
Sioux City and Pacific	101.77	2,600,000	5,047,720	2,447,720
Central Pacific....	737.50	36,000,000	124,211,680	84,211,680
Western Pacific...	123.16	4,000,000		
Total	2,495.05	95,955,347	268,203,462	172,347,115

The Commission says of these water-logged railroads: "*Their management has been a national disgrace. They have been conducted on a purely speculative basis. Their managers greedily strove for temporary advantage. For 14 years the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific were practically free from competition for a stretch of 1,800 miles across the Continent.*"

By pools, by secret rebates, and by every modern device of commercial piracy, they heaped up net profits of \$278,000,000 as follows:

Road.	Gross earnings	Operating ex- penses.	Net earnings.
Union and Kansas Pacific Central Pacific Railroad, from 1863 to December 31, 1886	\$315,303,504.66	\$169,916,078.90	\$145,387,425.76
Sioux City, Pacific Railroad from July 30, 1869, to June 30, 1887.....	274,139,116.27	149,199,102.40	124,940,013.87
Central Branch Union Pacific	9,187,359.50	6,423,596.82	2,763,762.68
	12,849,463.47	7,917,308.15	4,932,155.32
Total	611,479,443.90	333,456,086.27	278,023,357.63

OVER \$25,000,000 FOR POOLS, REBATES, AND OVERCHARGES.

The Commission also investigated "the Reptile Fund," with the following result:

Large sums were also squandered by some of the bond-aided companies to pay for the services of lawyers to *influence legislation*, the total legal expenses of the companies being as follows:

Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific.....	\$2,349,554.80
Central Branch	333,661.65
Sioux City and Pacific.....	37,287.75
Central Pacific	2,361,154.88
Total	5,081,659.08

A large sum which had been expended by the Central Pacific *for legislation* was posted under the head of "general expenses."

The Commission sums up against the Corporations, in the following charges:

"Had the Pacific railroads been built and managed upon honest methods, had the Government loan been properly applied, these companies, regarded as a whole, could have declared dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum for eighteen years, from the date of actual completion to the present time, upon all the moneys that they would have been required to pay in to complete and equip the roads; they would have owned 2,495 miles of roads free from all debt, and worth \$124,600,000, upon an original outlay of less than \$35,490,381.44, three of them, the Union Pacific, Central Pacific, and Central Branch, could have repaid every cent of the principal and interest advanced by the Government to date, and could have reduced their charges to shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year.

For \$1 the stockholders would have realized \$1.07 in dividends in eighteen years and \$1.11 in land sales. The property would have been free from debt, and for every dollar that they had invested the stockholders would have had in property over \$4; so that in eighteen years each dollar would have yielded \$6.18.

But they chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided \$172,347,115 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the Government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 a year, to pay for the inflation of the capital of these companies and for the vicious practices that crept into their management.

The Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific (added portion) roads could have been built for an original outlay by stockholders of \$17,021,488, in addition to the Government loan, all debts could have been paid, including the Government debt, principal and interest, to December 31, 1886, and from the profits of operating the roads and from land sales aggregating \$176,294,793.53 the stock could have paid regular dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum; and by an original outlay of \$17,021,488, which the law required but which was not made, the company would today own a railroad worth at least \$79,000,000 and unsold lands worth \$14,004,240, equaling an appreciation of 447 per cent. in eighteen years, while shippers would have been benefited and the developments of tributary territory encouraged by a reduction of \$85,130,845.49 in charges for transportation.

In the Central Pacific, for \$16,609,203.76 of stock subscription which should have been paid in conformity with the act of Congress all debts could have been wiped out, including the Government debt, principal and interest; the stock would have paid regular dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum; and for the outlay of \$16,609,203.76 the company would today own a railroad worth at least \$40,000,000 and unsold lands worth \$12,500,000, equaling an appreciation of over 200 per cent. in eighteen years, while shippers would have been benefited by a reduction of over \$54,000,000 in the cost of transportation.

Because of the vicious methods actually pursued by the bond-aided companies the Government has been defrauded of the bulk of its advances, shippers have been taxed to the extent of over \$248,000,000, and liabilities to the amount of \$389,517,265 have been heaped upon the properties; the total liabilities of these companies to the public and Government on December 31, 1886, being as follows:

Union Pacific, including St. Joseph and Grand Island	
guarantee	\$203,379,555.00
Central Pacific	171,908,784.00
Sioux City and Pacific.....	7,392,447.17
Central Branch	6,836,479.16
	389,517,265.33

These companies have paid out the following sums in interest and dividend:

Interest and dividends.

Company.	Interest	Dividend.
Kansas Pacific }	\$82,742,856.28	\$28,650.770
Union Pacific }		
Central Branch	1,882,826.10	150,000
Sioux City and Pacific.....	1,709,618.67	189,280
Central Pacific	53,877,031.15	34,308,055
	140,212,332.20	63,298,105

It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that they are unable to pay the Government debt and that their resources have been diminished to such an extent as to give the Government very little return for its loans.

THE DEBT TO THE GOVERNMENT.

The obligations of these companies to the Government are as follows:

Company.	Principal of debt.	Interest accumulated to Dec. 31, 1886.	Total.
Kansas Pacific }	\$33,539,512	\$39,241,229.04	\$72,780,741
Union Pacific }			
Central Branch	1,600,000	1,944,000.00	3,544,000
Sioux City and Pacific.....	1,628,320	1,758,585.00	3,386,905
Central Pacific	27,855,680	31,869,475.20	59,825,155
	64,623,512	74,813,289.24	139,536,801

The Government is also liable for ten years' additional interest on its bonds or a total of \$39,447,958.26."

Did the Government ever collect its money? No. The roads were systematically run down, robbed, and wrecked; and when the Government at length faced the issue of *taking*

them for the debt, it allowed the magnificent opportunity to pass. The firm of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co. acquired the vast properties for a comparative trifle, the Government lost the bulk of the debt. Harriman came into the ownership of the majority of the stock, rehabilitated the roads, and soon sold new stock, sufficient to reap as great a profit as the original pirates.

Jay Gould and Huntingdon and Stanford and Harriman, and a score of others made colossal fortunes out of this magnificent property. Yet the Tax-payer whose land and whose money built the Roads found it impossible to collect the debt.

Why?

Corrupt legislators; venal judges; subsidized newspapers!

That's the answer; none other is possible.

Who is responsible for this fearful outrage upon public justice?

Both the Old Parties.

The Corporations had a contingent in each, strong enough to dominate both.

That National scandals should have grown out of these transactions was quite natural. I do not care to go into them. It is sufficient to remind the reader of the *Credit Mobilier* stench of the Seventies. It was a most noisome scandal. Statesmen, lawyers, judges, editors were implicated in a gigantic fraud and conspiracy, to rob the Government.

How Stanford and Huntingdon made their fortune may be seen from one quotation from the Official Report made during Cleveland's Administration, known as the Pattison Report:

"On the face of the books the barren fact appeared that Leland Stanford and C. P. Huntingdon have taken from assets of this Company, over which they have absolute control, the sum aforesaid, \$4,818,355."

That's what they took at that special time, and in that special way.

It's not all they took, by a vast deal.

Page 51 of the Pattison report shows that Huntingdon Stanford, Croker & Co., by contracting with themselves, through dummies, cleared \$44,000,000 on three construction contracts. The dummy was The Credit Mobilier.

CHAPTER VII

CONTENTS.—HOW THE SURPLUS WAS SQUANDERED. PET BANKS. SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

SECTION 1. By the operation of the Federal Tax Laws, the Revenues of the Government during Cleveland's Administration largely exceeded its Expenditures.

Not that the Expenditures were small. By no means. They were some Three Hundred and Fifty Millions of Dollars. But the Taxes were so heavy, the Tariff burden so great, that the people were compelled to pay into the Treasury upwards of One Hundred Millions of Dollars over and above its needs.

In other words, vicious legislation forced this annual excess out of the pockets of the people, and put it where the Politicians, the Boodlers, and the Privileged Classes would have full swing with it.

Under Jackson's Administration in 1837, the Surplus had been fairly divided among the States as a Loan.

But under Cleveland, the Wall Street influence was supreme and the idea of putting out the surplus among the States was not thought of. Some \$59,000,000 of it was put in the National Banks, so that they could enjoy the benefit of lending the Tax-money to the Tax-payers, to whom it belonged, at a high rate of interest.

The Banks paid the Government nothing.

I doubt if the history of the world furnishes a parallel to this as a matter of Government Favoritism. Some \$60,000,000 of this Surplus was paid away in Premiums to the Bondholders in the purchase of Bonds not due.

These Bonds were drawing a low rate of interest, 4 and 4½ per cent.; they still had a long term to run; yet the Administration could find no better way of disposing of a fund which belonged to all the people than to adopt a policy which resulted in paying off National obligations before they were due and giving the National Creditors a bonus of \$60,000,000 for being kind enough to accept payment in advance of pay-day.

At the time this policy was put into practice, the tax-payers of the country were in a distressed condition; were groaning under a Mortgage Debt of stupendous size, and were paying exorbitant rates of interest.

They began, most respectfully, to ask the Government to

consider the proposition that, in the distribution of the National Currency, Bonds should not be regarded as the only respectable collateral, but the Lands, and non-perishable Produce, be treated as fairly as that species of Mercantile Paper called Bonds.

With a howl of derision they were put aside.

They were told to "go home, attend to their business, work harder and talk less."

"Work harder and talk less"—and the National Banker will consider you a more valuable slave than he even now does.

In Premiums on Bonds, as I have stated, the Democrats managed to donate some \$60,000,000 of the People's money to a Privileged Class.

When the Republicans took hold, their plan was different:

They voted it away in Appropriations to Sugar Bounties, Ship Subsidies, Navy Enlargements, River and Harbor Bills, etc.

The people to whom the money belonged got none of it.

However much the Old Parties might differ upon other matters, on *this* they were agreed;—that the Tax-payer himself was the last man who had a right to seek the benefit of that money.

It was constitutional to donate part of it to the Chicago Fair and to the Bondholders; legal, to lend part of it to National Banks free of Interest; but to talk of donating a part of it to the drought-stricken farmers in Texas and Nebraska, to buy seeds to plant their lands, was all bosh and nonsense. No decent man, anxious to be called a "Statesman" would countenance such a scheme.

To lend part of it to these Farmers on lands or produce, was even more criminal in its demoralizing tendencies.

How much of that Surplus of Tax-money had the Bondholders paid into the Treasury?

Not a cent.

How much of it had these Farmers paid in?

Nearly all of it. Yet the men who paid it in could get none of it as a Loan, while those who had paid none of it got it as a Gift.

The man who gives away money to a class who have no right to it, is a "Statesman."

The man who would lend that money to the class to whom it belongs, is a Demagogue.

John Sherman, of Ohio, was a recognized Leader of the Republican Party.

In the Democratic Campaign Book of 1880, it is charged

that while he was Secretary of the Treasury, he was Partner in the First National Bank of New York; that he gave this Bank the inside track on the refunding of the Ten-Forty Bonds into Four-percents; that he and his Partners made \$115,000,000 off the Government by the operation; and that to prevent further exposure, he issued an order that the employes of the Treasury Department should give no news to the Press.

Thus it goes. Democrats making out the case on the Republicans, and the latter making it out on the former.

Pot and kettle all around. Mr. Sherman had been in Federal Office many years; could not possibly have become a millionaire on his legitimate earnings as a salaried official; and the very fact that he became so enormously wealthy, shows that he used his official advantages to fill his pockets.

As an illustration of the Class Legislation prevalent in both Political Parties consider the favors shown the Great Western Whiskey Ring.

They have unlimited capital, and deal in a product which no one claims makes this country happier or more prosperous. It would be easy to charge up to them a heavy proportion of poverty, disease, wretchedness and crime.

It would seem they might be modest enough to take their places among other Tax-payers, and fare as they do.

Not so: They obtain from Congress a Loan of many millions of dollars annually at 5 per cent. interest, at the expense of other Tax-payers. The Tax on Distilled Spirits is 90 cents per gallon. The production is so great that the annual revenue aggregates \$143,000,000. (1890.)

Under the Bonded Warehouse Law the Whiskey Ring has the privilege of borrowing this sum of money for *three years*, by paying 5 per cent. interest on it, for *two years*. They get the Loan one year, free of charge.

Does any other Tax-payer have that privilege?

Suppose a farmer or a merchant should ask to have his Taxes loaned to him for three years—would he get them?

In the mad whirl of Class Legislation which has grown to such shameless proportions since the war, it is hard to point out a more glaring example than this.

The law simply allows the Whiskey Ring to say to the Tax Collector:

"I don't feel like paying you today;—call again, three years from now."

HISTORY OF THE LEGAL TENDERS; FUNDING THE WAR EXPENSES; INJUSTICE OF FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

SECTION 1. The battle of Bull Run was fought July 21, 1861.

The expenses of the Government in arming, equipping and sustaining its Military and Naval Forces rapidly increased.

The Banks suspended specie payments in December, 1861.

The daily expenses of the Government ran up to Two Million Dollars per day. There was no Gold or Silver accessible with which to meet these huge demands.

What was to be done?

Prompt action was necessary to prevent a collapse.

Two days after the Government Sub-Treasuries were forced into suspension by the suspension of the Banks. Hon. E. G. Spaulding, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, introduced the Legal Tender Act.

It was pressed with desperate energy and became a Law February 25, 1862.

As Mr. Spaulding was a Gold-Bug on the money question, his evidence is valuable and I shall use it extensively.

He favored Paper Money as a matter of absolute necessity. Without it the Union could not fight for its life. Gold and Silver had hid out—as usual.

His leading idea was to Fund the War Expenses.

Therefore, \$5,000,000 of Gold Bonds bearing 6 per cent. interest were authorized, and the Legal Tender Paper Money was convertible into these Bonds at par.

It was expected that the Legal Tenders (Greenbacks) would circulate freely among the people in the Course of Trade, and that as they accumulated in the hands of the Capitalists they would be exchanged for Bonds.

At the same time, Congress authorized a Tax of \$150,000,000, so that the Government would be supplied with funds to meet the interest on the Bonds.

The first of these Legal Tenders (Greenbacks) were issued March 10 1862. One Hundred Million Dollars of Paper Money thus came to the relief of the struggling Government at a time when all other resources had failed.

Mr. Spaulding says the pressure on the Treasury was at once relieved.

Other issues of Greenbacks followed as they were needed.

Prior to the issuance of the Greenbacks, proper, the Government had issued \$60,000,000 of Demand Notes,—as they were called. These never depreciated.

When Chase resigned in 1864, the amount of Legal Tender Paper of all kinds outstanding was \$1,100,000,000.

Stanton said in a letter dated November 28, 1869, "without them (the Greenbacks) he does not see how the Armies could have been raised, equipped, clothed, etc."

Seward said they were indispensable.

At the beginning of the War, the United States had no National Bank Currency and very little Metallic Currency. The War was fought on credit.

SECTION 2. As the Greenback Act was passed through the House, it provided that the Paper so issued should be full Legal Tender.

The New York, Philadelphia and Boston Bankers opposed the Bill. They organized and came to Washington. Mr. Gallatin, a New York Banker, was their spokesman. They proposed a modification of the Spaulding Bill. A part of their plan was that the Paper Money should not be good in payment of Import Duties and Interest on Bonds.

This was the famous "Exception Clause."

Their plan was rejected so far as the public could see at the time; but when the Spaulding Bill reached the Senate that Exception Clause became a part of it. Thad. Stevens and others protested against a law which created one kind of Currency for the Soldier, and another for the Bondholder.

Mr. Spaulding (when the Bill went back to the House) opposed the exception. He pointed out that the Government was hurting its own credit by such a clause and that full Legal Tender quality was needful to keep the Paper at par. His warning went for nothing; the bankers had their way.

Thad. Stevens proposed an Amendment to the effect that Soldiers and Sailors should be paid in as good money as Bondholders. It was voted down, February 20, 1862.

The effect of the Exception Clause was to put all the Gold into the hands of a few Bankers.

While brave men, enduring the hardships of War, were being paid off in Paper whose value the Government itself had depreciated, the Bankers were gathering into their coffers the entire Gold supply of the land. They have it to this day. Hence their frantic objection to any Currency which does not submit to Gold as its Master.

And hence their desperate determination to keep the advantage which they most illegally got during the dark years of National distress.

Then, as now, they deserved the scathing words of Mr. Kellogg in Congress when he denounced them for "making merchandise of the hopes and fears of the Republic."

Whenever our people hear the Bankers raising a hue and cry for "Honest Money" let them well understand that it means only this: The Bankers got all the Gold by Statutory theft during the War, and they mean to hold the plunder, and to extend the advantage which it gives them.

"Honest Money," from a Banker's standpoint, means this: "Mastership over labor in all its fields, and in all its homes."

SECTION 3. That Congress has full power to issue Legal Tender Paper Money, has been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

From their last Decision I quote as follows:

"*Julliard vs. Greenman*, 1884: * * * Congress as the Legislative of a Sovereign Nation, being expressly empowered by the Constitution to levy and collect Taxes, to pay debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States and to borrow money on the credit of the United States and to coin money and to regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and being clearly authorized to coin as incidental to the exercise of those great powers, to emit bills of credit, to charter National Banks, and to provide a National Currency for the whole people in the form of Coin, Treasury Notes, and National Bank Bills, and the power to make Notes of the Government a Legal Tender in payment of private debts, being one of the powers belonging to sovereignty in other civilized nations, and not expressly withheld from Congress by the Constitution, we are irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that upon Treasury Notes of the United States the quality of being Legal Tender in the payment of Private Debts is an appropriate means conducive and plainly adapted to execution of the undoubted power of Congress consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution; therefore, within the meaning of that instrument, necessary and proper for carrying into execution the powers vested by this Constitution of the Government of the United States. Such being our conclusion in the matter of law, the question whether at any time in war or peace the exigency is such that by reason of unusual and pressing demands on the resources of the Government or the inadequacy of the supply of Gold and Silver coin to furnish the Currency needed for uses of the Government and of the people, that it is a matter of fact wise and expedient to resort to this means is a political question to be determined by Congress when a question of exigency arises, and not a judicial question to be afterwards passed upon by the Courts. It follows that the Act

of May 31, 1878, is constitutional and valid, and that the Circuit Court rightly held that a tender in Treasury Notes re-issued and kept in circulation under that Act was a tender of lawful money in payment of the defendant's debt to plaintiff."

SECTION 4. At present the amount of Greenbacks in existence is \$346,000,000.

The balance have been destroyed.

Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln, began to burn them up in 1865.

By the Resumption Act, in which culminated the Resumption Policy which both the Old parties had promised the Bankers in their National Platforms, it was intended to retire all the Paper Money of the Government and to leave the people entirely at the mercy of the Bankers.

Public indignation grew so strong that the destruction of the Greenback was stopped by Act of Congress in 1878.

The Act of Congress dated April 12, 1866, was really the first Funding Act after the war. It was supplemental to the Act of March 3, 1865.

Under these two Acts the obligations of the Government which were circulating among the people to the amount of \$1,363,409,226 at the time the latter Act was passed, were retired from use, *and funded in Bonds* bearing 6 per cent. interest.

By this means about one-half of the Paper Money was struck down.

By the year 1870, when the Bonds were refunded, only \$691,028,377 of the Paper Currency was left among the people.

This Act of 1866 which had such a terrible effect in destroying the Circulating Medium, passed the Senate by a vote of 32 Yeas to 7 Nays.

All the Nay votes were Republicans.

Only five Democratic votes were cast; and they were "Yeas."

In the House the vote was: Yeas, 83; Nays, 54. Twenty-eight Democrats voted Yea; one, Nay. Fifty-three Republicans voted Nay; same number, Yea.

In 1868 a temporary halt was called to the destruction of the Greenbacks which was going on.

Business failures had increased from 495, with liabilities of only \$8,579,00, in 1864, to 2,780, with liabilities of \$96,666,000, in 1867. The people were not prepared for such a change in their affairs, and a general murmur of discontent was heard throughout the country. Complaints of this character were well founded, and are always made when the

volume of circulating medium is reduced. From January 1, 1866, to January 1, 1868, the Currency of the country had been contracted, according to W. L. Faucett, \$986,502,953. Other authorities place it at a much larger amount.

SECTION 5. In the Financial History of the War by Hon. E. G. Spaulding (author of the Legal Tender Act) he gives the following statement of the amount of Paper Money in circulation on June 30, 1864: Greenbacks, \$431,000,000; Postal Fractional Currency, \$323,000,000; Interest bearing Legal Tender Notes, \$166,000,000; Certificates of Indebtedness, \$161,000,000; National Bank Notes, \$26,000,000; Seven-thirty Treasury Notes, \$109,000,000; Temporary Deposits for which certificates were issued, \$72,000,000. I have used round numbers.

After the surrender of the Confederate Armies, the Volunteers in the Union ranks had to be mustered out of service and paid off.

Secretary McCulloch paid them off by means of Paper Money, known as the Seven-thirty Treasury Notes.

After paying off the army the amount of this particular issue of Paper Money outstanding (October, 1865) was \$830,000,000 which, by law, were convertible, in three years, into Five-twenty 6 per cent. Bonds.

Now let the reader add up the items and he will be able to expose the untruthful statement of those who endeavor to show that the Currency has not been decreased per capita.

He will find by adding the Seven-thirty Notes to the amount of Greenbacks, Fractional Currency, Interest-bearing Notes, National Bank Notes and Certificates, that, Eighteen Hundred Millions Dollars (in round numbers) were in circulation October, 1865. This is exclusive of Bonds, State Bank issues, and Metallic money.

The amount of Bonds outstanding was in round numbers only \$1,160,000,000.

But under the operation of Funding Laws, the Paper Money, which to a large extent was costing the people nothing, *was retired from circulation and put into Bonds which cost the people high interest, wrung from them in Gold.*

To show how rapidly this went on, I will state that in 1868, only \$817,000,000 of the circulating Paper Money of 1865 was still outstanding.

One Thousand Millions (in round numbers) had either been burnt or put into Bonds!

Anyone who will study the tables now sent out by the Secretary of the Treasury will see that he does not count the \$830,000,000 of Seven-thirty Notes at all. Yet they were good

enough to furnish means to pay off the army. The truth is, that Jay Cooke negotiated them all at par. Mr. Spaulding so states in his book.

SECTION 6. It only remains for me to quote Mr. Spaulding one more time.

Hear him:

"The amount of the issue of paper currency and temporary obligations in various forms was most appalling. Considerable over one million of men were at one period of the war withdrawn from productive labor. The strain upon the credit of the Government with eleven States practically out of the Union was very great. It would seem that no other country could have borne up under such a sudden expansion of the credit circulation and the changing of so many men from producers to destroyers of life and property. This great inflation of the Paper Medium had however some compensating advantages. It stimulated into wonderful activity all the productive energies of common labor, skilled labor, and machinery of all kinds. War material was produced with amazing rapidity and in abundant quantity for equipping, supporting and moving all in the field and navies afloat. The people never flagged, hesitated the great armies or faltered in producing and furnishing all these vast war materials and receiving in exchange for it the promises issued to them by the Government. They seemed to be getting rich by the operation and although it was to some extent unreal yet this stimulus aided by patriotic determination to maintain the Union was great enough to induce the people to furnish everything necessary to supply the Army and Navy to crush the Rebellion at the mouth of the cannon and point of the bayonet.

* * * These bold and decisive financial measures gave power and dignity to the Government, etc."

Such is the testimony of an unwilling witness who all the way through his Book apologizes for his Greenback Measure.

Yet if it gave "power and dignity to the Government"; if it "crushed the Rebellion of eleven States"; if it maintained one of the finest armies the world ever saw; if it kept the camp in abundance and the home of the people in plenty; if by its means every artery of business throbbed with the strong life-blood of a free currency, then why was it not a marvelously good money?

Why was it not allowed to do as much, *in time of Peace*, as it had done in the gloomy days of Strife?

Why were not the people allowed to increase the general prosperity which professedly prevailed?

Why was the currency of the people selected as a victim, and offered up as a sacrifice upon the Altars of the Banker and the Bondholder? On December 4, 1865, Secretary McCulloch in his Annual Report expressed the opinion that the Greenbacks should all be retired, that their destruction should commence without delay; that the "Gold Standard" should be adopted.

On the 18th day of December, 1865, the House adopted this remarkable resolution:

"Resolved, That this House cordially concurs in the views of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the necessity of a *contraction of the currency, etc.*"

This pledge of legislative aid in carrying the policy the Bondholder demanded was passed almost unanimously.

The bondholding class cleared in net profits on the Civil War, the stupendous sum of *six billion dollars*. In "Statesmen Three," Col. Archie Fisk says:

"In Volume I, pages 256-257, of the report of the Comptroller for 1891, it appears that the people of this country have paid the national banks \$8,200,000,000. Of this, \$900,000,000 are given as expenses, and \$7,300,000,000 as profits. This, with the \$6,000,000,000 they stole during the war, and since, and the thirty or forty billions of property they have confiscated by contracting the currency, shows rapid progress towards owning the nation, when we remember that they had only \$50,000,000 thirty-four years ago."

THE CORPORATIONS.

Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, during the latter years of his life predicted that if the people of this country ever came to understand the injustice of the present financial system, there would be the greatest revolution the world has seen since the Crusades.

In the tremendous oppressiveness of the System, the chief factor of cruelty, greed, corruption and robbery, is the Corporation.

Judge Blandford, late of the Supreme Court of Georgia, said that whenever half a dozen men made up their minds to swindle somebody, they always went and incorporated themselves.

The Corporation is a convenient cloak for the rascality of the individual. It is also his protection. His share in the profits has no limits save the amount of the profits; while his share of the losses is confined to the stock he subscribed for. Besides, he escapes individual odium. When Jones steals a

horse, Jones must face the music. But when a corporation composed of Jones and thirty-nine other thieves steals a Rail Road, the Corporation gets the money. Cussing the Corporations doesn't hurt Jones. It is like fighting a man's coat while the man is a mile off.

These Corporations are the Feudal Barons of this Century. Their Directors live in lordly Palaces and Castles. Their Yachts are on the sea; their Parlor Cars on the rails. They spread feasts that would feed a starving factory town. They throw away on the decorations of a Ball Room enough to clothe the children of a city. They keep bands of Militia and Gunmen to do their fighting. At the word of command, these hireling assassins shoot down men, women and children. Time and again they have made the streets run red with the blood of innocent people. The murderers are never punished. They are spirited away on the trains.

Not only do the Corporations keep armed Retainers: they keep oily and servile Courtiers to do their bidding in other walks of life. Their paid Lobby bribes the voter. Their paid editor feeds the public with lies. Their corrupt Lawyers and Judges peddle out justice to the highest bidder. Their Attorneys go on the Bench or into Senates, to vote the will of their Masters.

The ambitious young men fear them, because their power is so terribly great. The pulpit fears them: for the plush-covered Pew is the seat of the millionaire. The Pew overawes the Sacred Desk.

They can close up a magnificent natural Harbor like Port Royal on the Carolina Coast and keep it closed. They can compel Congress to give them millions of the taxes of the people to prepare them an inferior harbor at another place a few miles distant—like Savannah. They can destroy a city by a change of Freight Rates. They can steal my land under the Law of "eminent domain." They can violate the Law without fear, as they do every hour in every State in this Union. They are kings, more cruel than the Caesars: Marauders, more rapacious than the Spanish Pizarros and Alvarados; Conspirators, more subtle in their designs than the Borgias, or Catalines; Corruptionists, more systematic, cold-blooded and unscrupulous than the Minions of the basest Monarchs that ever sat on a throne.

Combinations among them have locked up, for gambling purposes, the treasures of the immense Coal-fields, Mineral Deposits, Timber Lands, Oil Wells, Gas Wells, and kept the benefit away from the public at large. The markets of the world have been clutched by the throat (in violation of Law)

and the price of every commodity taken away from competition and given to the Trust. Small dealers everywhere, in everything, exist at the pleasure of the large dealer. The individual sinks before the Corporation. The man goes down under the blows of the "Ring." Money:—combined money, law-protected money,—dominates the street, the market, the Court, the Church, the Legislature, the Editorial Room, the State, the School, the Home!

Verily, verily, the rottenness of the latter days of Rome, of the latter days of the French Monarchy, is upon us. The question is—does society contain the seeds of its own redemption? Are there true men and true women enough to overturn and rebuild?

To illustrate one of the ways in which Corporations victimize the public, let us consider some examples of "Watering Stock."

In 1869 the New York Central and the Hudson River Railroad consolidated. Their Capital was \$45,000,000. They at once watered it up to \$90,000,000:—a clear steal of \$45,000,000. Since that time more "Water" has been put in and the Capitalization is now \$146,000,000. Of this sum \$110,000,000 is fictitious. It exists by virtue of pen, ink, paper and rascality. It exists again by reason of the fact that the people can be made to submit to almost anything. No wonder Vanderbilt scornfully said "The public be damned."

The Erie Railroad is just as bad. Its real Capitalization should be \$65,000,000. But it has been watered up to \$160,601,000:—a steal of nearly \$100,000,000. On these watered stocks the public is compelled to pay Dividends. Laborers on the road have their wages cut down and shippers have their Freight charges run up in order that these enormous blocks of fictitious stock shall yield an income and thus have a value on the market. To show how far reaching is the Leprosy of this dishonesty I state that when the Richmond Terminal bandits got hold of the Central Railroad of Georgia they promptly watered the concern to the tune of \$16,000,000. The people pay the fiddler.

The Railroads of the United States cost some \$7,000,000,000. They were built by donations of land and money and credit. The public paid for the Roads: the Corporations did not. They are capitalized at \$15,000,000,000. (1890). Half of this is fictitious, and the public should not be compelled to pay dividends on it. Were the Roads restricted to an income of 5 per cent. upon their actual value, the public would save \$350,000,000 annually. This princely sum represents the

yearly plunder of the Corporations obtained through the dishonest scheme of "Watered Stock."

WATERED STOCK: FRANCHISES: EMINENT DOMAIN.

It is quite possible that writers and speakers of economic questions take it for granted that the ordinary reader understands more about the meaning of certain terms than is actually the case. For instance, I occasionally receive inquiries from intelligent correspondents who inquire the meaning of the words "Watered Stock," "franchises," "eminent domain," etc. In this chapter are given certain definitions which will enable every reader to understand fully what is meant by these terms.

The story goes that Jay Cooke, at the beginning of his great financial career, was a dealer in cattle. He would buy beeves in the rural districts and drive them to town where they were sold by weight. It is said that he adopted the trick of salting the cattle liberally the night before they were to be marketed so that the cows would fill themselves with water which they would carry to the scales and which, of course, added to their weight. Along with the good beef, water was bought. It is said that this is the origin of the term, "watered stock," as applied to corporation securities. At all events it exactly illustrates the process by which corporation stocks and bonds are inflated.

A syndicate of financiers secure control of the majority of the stock of a railroad: they perhaps adopt some reorganization scheme: but whether they do or not the syndicate which has secured control invariably issues additional stock and bonds, for which they have paid no additional money whatever. This increase of stock and bonds is just so much water poured into the corporation. Along with the capitalization which represents the original and actual investment of money goes this additional capitalization which represents nothing but ink and paper, human greed and human fraud. The new issues of stock and bonds are offered for sale to the public. In other words, the syndicate unloads its herd of cattle on the market, the cattle having been watered to such an extent that their weight has been enormously increased.

Take the Vanderbilt system of railroads. The securities of the New York Central have been watered about 200 per cent.; the securities of the Hudson River Railway have been watered 177 per cent. It is by such manipulations as these that the Vanderbilts have been able to buy for their daughters Hungary. They gave \$1,000,000 to the Duke of Marlborough

and they gave \$5,000,000 to Count Szechenyi. To put this another way, the capitalization of these two lines of railway was \$54,000,000 in 1866. By 1870 the total capitalization had been increased to \$103,000,000. The water, therefore, which the public had bought and paid for amounted to \$49,000,000. To make this watered stock valuable, dividends had to be earned upon it, and in order that dividends should be earned by this fraudulent capitalization freight rates and passenger rates had to be maintained which would have been excessive upon the actual capitalization of \$54,000,000. The manipulation of the Erie Railroad by Jay Gould was of the same character. Within four months after Gould and Fisk secured control (1868) they had increased the stock more than \$23,000,000, without adding one dollar to the actual investment. During eight months of their control they had increased the stock more than \$33,000,000. In eight years, from 1867 to 1871, the Erie stocks were increased from \$11,569,500 to \$86,435,700.

As an example of the robbery of the people by the watering of Railroad securities the Union Pacific system is impressive. A history of the construction of this road will be found in another chapter of this book. At the time when it owned the Government \$89,000,000 for interest paid on its bonds, Jay Gould, who was then in control of it, threatened to build a parallel from Omaha to Ogden and to give the Union Pacific back to the Government in satisfaction of its mortgage. Gould declared that such a parallel road could be built for \$15,000,000. However, the Union Pacific was sold by the Government and purchased by Jacob Schiff, as related in the chapter referred to, and E. H. Harriman is now in control of it. Into the securities of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific has been poured water to such an extent that the entire capitalization is now \$240,000,000. Two-thirds of which is fictitious.

Mr. Thomas F. Ryan is one of the most powerful factors in the control of the National Democratic Party. In 1904 the delegation sent by the State of Virginia to the Convention which nominated Judge Parker, was carried in the private car of Mr. Ryan. In 1906 Mr. Ryan, in co-partnership with Mr. August Belmont, merged the Street Railway Companies of New York into a new system and they celebrated their partnership by pouring into the merger \$108,000,000 of water. The result is that the street railway system of New York City is now burdened with \$176,000,000 which represents no cash investment whatever. To that extent the securities, issued by Belmont and Ryan, are absolutely without honest value, and the act of unloading these fraudulent securities upon the pub-

lic and then taxing it to earn dividends on the stock, is nothing in the world but robbery under forms of law.

In the manipulation of these street railroads of New York there was one broken down and bankrupt horse-car line which Ryan and his associates bought for \$25,000. They then unloaded this piece of property on their Metropolitan Company, on the same day, for \$5,530,000. In this deal the Ryan syndicate stole, under forms of law, the enormous sum of \$5,525,000 from their own stock holders. By similar transactions, Ryan's syndicate robbed the stock holders and the public, during the course of a few years, out of \$38,000,000. Horse-car lines and other traction property which had actually cost Ryan's syndicate about \$2,000,000 were unloaded upon the Metropolitan for \$40,000,000. One of these deals consisted in the purchase from Anthony Brady of a Street Car line which had no existence. There was a charter, but the road never had been built and there was no intention of building one. Ryan and his associates, William C. Whitney, P. A. B. Widener, Thomas Dolan and William L. Elkins, bought the franchise from Brady for \$250,000. But in order that they might steal several hundred thousand dollars from the Metropolitan, they went through the form of paying Brady \$808,261. Immediately, however, Brady returned to each of the five thieves already mentioned the sum of \$111,652, that being the share of each in the loot. In this way the transaction was made to resemble an honest sale of the property at \$808,261, whereas the purchase price was only \$250,000 and the balance was loot which the robbers divided among themselves. Of course, the loss fell upon the stock holders of the Metropolitan.

In 1907 a legislative committee examined into the Railroad situation in Minnesota. In that State it was found that the real value of the Railroad property was \$215,000,000. But that the inflated capitalization upon which the people were paying interest was \$400,000,000. The freight and passenger rates were so high and the business of the roads so good that they were making a clear profit of 18 per cent. upon the actual investment.

The official report of the United States Industrial committee for 1902 stated that there had been a fictitious capitalization in Railroad securities during the year 1900 of \$337,000,000. Upon this enormous amount of water the people were expected to pay dividends and thus give something for nothing. In other words, by the issue of these fraudulent stocks and bonds the people are robbed to the extent that the securities can be unloaded upon the public and dividends forced out of the patrons of the road.

The case of the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company has become famous. In 1899 Messrs. Harriman, Schiff, Stillman and Gould bought the old Chicago and Alton Railway Company for \$29,000,000. They at once declared a dividend of 30 per cent. and repaid themselves \$6,538,380. They then transferred their stock to a dummy named Lewis L. Stanton who organized the new Chicago and Alton Railway Company, which paid \$10,000,000 and 390,318 shares of new stock for the old stock. Thus reducing the cost of the road \$22,470,220 and making the shares of the new stock cost \$6.00 a piece. Then they issued \$62,000,000 of bonds which they first sold to themselves at \$32,000,000, at 60 cents on the dollar, and then resold these bonds through a firm of brokers to the New York life Insurance Company and to the Equitable Insurance Company at 96 cents and 92 cents on the dollar. The last \$22,000,000 of the bonds were nominally sold to Kuhn, Loeb & Co. for 60 cents on the dollar and resold through the Stock Exchange at 76½ and 86½. Including these bond transactions the new stock cost Harriman and his associates nothing.

They not only got the Chicago and Alton Railway Company without paying a cent for it but received a cash bonus for stealing it.

Being in control of the Union Pacific Railroad, Mr. Harriman now turned around and sold one hundred three thousand shares of the Chicago Railway stock which, disregarding the bonds, had cost Harriman not more than \$5.00 per share. Harriman being both buyer and seller, bought for the Pacific Railway stock holders, at \$86.50 per share, the new stock which his dummy had issued, and which had not cost him more than \$5.00 a share. In various railroad deals in which eight different lines were manipulated the Harriman syndicate managed to loot the Union Pacific stockholders to the amount of \$42,000,000. Harriman's personal profits on a series of railroad deals in which he juggled with stocks and bonds in a manner already indicated, amounted to \$29,000,000.

Just as the Gould fortune, the Vanderbilt fortune, and the fortunes of Harriman and Ryan have been built up at the public expense, by juggling with stocks and bonds, so the fortune of J. P. Morgan, to a large extent, consists of the results of the predatory campaigns of the same sort. It was Morgan who poured more than \$500,000,000 of waater into the securities of the Steel Trust. At the time this enormous amount of stock was issued and sold, it represented no investment whatsoever. The bonds issued by the Steel Trust,—the name commonly given to the United States Steel Corporation,—were themselves largely made up of over capitaliza-

tion. But the common stock to which I am referring contained nothing but water. It had not cost a cent beyond the ink, the paper and the press work. Yet it was unloaded on the people, and by reason of the monopoly which the Steel Trust enjoys under the tariff, the American consumers of the various products of the Steel Trust are made to pay such outrageous prices, that the common stock is now worth its face value. In other words, the \$5,000,000 which the common stock of the Steel Trust is now worth in the open market *represents just that much robbery under forms of law.* Morgan and his crowd got something for nothing. It was Morgan and his crowd that furnished the "nothing," and it was the victimized American public that furnished \$500,000,-000 which the robbers divided among themselves.

In the case of the Central Railroad of Georgia, Morgan and his gang took charge of a property whose actual capitalization was \$7,500,000. This road was Morganized in the usual way, and when J. P. Morgan finished his operations, the Central Railroad of Georgia was loaded down with a capitalization of \$51,000,000. With the exception of \$7,500,000, this entire issue of securities is water. Therefore Morgan and his crowd divided among themselves forty odd million dollars of loot.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. The railroad capitalization of the United States is now about \$20,000,000,000. Experts upon that subject declare, confidently, that at least one-half of this huge amount is fraudulent, fictitious, watered stock. It is enough to stagger the human mind, to contemplate the tremendous fact that the unprivileged masses of an enlightened and Christian nation have patiently submitted to being plundered to the extent of \$10,000,000,000 by a few thousand railroad thieves.

SECTION TWO—"FRANCHISE;" "EMINENT DOMAIN."

By "franchise" is meant *the legal privilege* which the state grants to a corporation or a natural person to do a certain thing which, without this franchise, he would not be authorized to do. If the legislature should grant to an individual or to a corporation the right to establish a turnpike or a ferry, the legislative grant of the privilege is called a *franchise*. If a municipal government grants to certain individuals or a corporation the privilege of operating a Street Car line or of establishing telephone and telegraph lines, the municipal grant of the privilege is called a franchise. So also are *the privileges immunities and powers* granted to Railway Companies, Ex-

press Companies, Canal Companies. Whatever their charter authorizes them to do is a franchise. Therefore when we speak of the franchise rights of a Railroad Company, or any other corporation, we mean those privileges, powers, immunities which have been granted them by law. They are said to be *incorporeal rights* for the reason that they are distinct from the corporeal or visible right of the corporation. For instance the telegraph pole and wire is corporeal property, being visible and tangible. But *the right* to put up the poles and to stretch the wire, and to send messages over the line, and to charge people for the transmission of the messages, is *an invisible or incorporeal right*. It cannot be seen or handled in a physical sense.

The locomotives and cars, as well as the road bed, cross-ties and iron rails of a Railway Company, are its corporeal and visible property. *The right* to make the road bed and to send locomotives or cars over it and to charge people for the use of the cars *is not visible*, it is incorporated, invisible, and it is *this* which is meant in speaking of *the franchises* of the railroad.

By "Eminent Domain" is meant the inherent sovereign right to condemn private property for public uses. Strictly speaking, the title of all property is in the state. Private property may be destroyed to prevent the spread of disease or of fire. The most common form of the exercise of the state right to take private property for public uses occurs in the laying out of the right-of-way of railroads. By the law of Eminent Domain, the state or the municipality or the Federal Government takes possession of the private property of the individual and devotes it to the public use, through the prescribed condemnation proceedings. Generally, the value of the property is to be assessed and this assessment paid or offered to the owner before the property can be taken.

SECTION FOUR.—VALUATION OF THE FRANCHISE.

A simple rule for arriving at the value of the franchise of a corporation is this:

From its total capitalization, deduct the cost of construction of its plant, or the assessed value thereof: the difference between assessed value and the capitalization, will represent *the value of the franchise*.

To check this mighty evil, Government ownership is the only solution. Regulation does not regulate, any more than Tariff Reform reforms. As Jerry Simpson said, "You might as well attempt to 'Reform' Hell!"

The most shameful chapter in Corporation History relates to their control of Legislation.

In Pennsylvania, the Central Railroad so completely owns the Legislature that there is this saying in the halls: "If the Pennsylvania Railroad has no further business for this body to transact, I move that we adjourn." Things have reached a most depraved state when such remarks pass unnoted as a natural "size up" of the situation. The Standard Oil Company combined with the Pennsylvania Railroad and the record of lawlessness, spoliation, bribery and despotism of that combine staggers credibility. Oliver Payne (one of the chiefs of the Standard) bought his way into the Senate. He was a "Democrat" and his "party" refused to investigate the charges against him. Thus the corporations keep their Directors, Agents and Attorneys in power.

The United States Senate is always packed with these hired Retainers. In the Senate of each State they maintain a chosen band. When I was in the Georgia Legislature in 1882, the Senate was dominated by the Railroad Lawyers. A bill to tax the property of the Companies, just as the property of the individuals was taxed, after we passed it in the House was defeated in the Senate. The Railroad Lawyers to a man opposed it stubbornly. The Georgia Roads have fought the Railroad Commission at every step; have defied it; have come near ruining it by Legislative stabs. They almost succeeded in getting a law passed to give the Roads the right to appeal from all decisions of the Commission;—thus protracting litigation indefinitely, and defeating and ruining the citizen. Litigation costs the Railroad nothing. They can make the loss good by a spurt of the pen in freight rates. It does cost the citizen. He has no way of taxing the community to recoup his expense.

OBJECTIONS TO GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP CONSIDERED.

First. That there is no law for it.

The answer to this is that Railroads are Public Highways and necessarily under the control of the Government. The law of eminent domain condemned the land when the Roads were built. Surely what the law took from the people, it can restore. We propose to pay a fair price for the property, to be assessed according to law.

Second. That they would cost too much.

No man loses anything by purchasing good property, especially if that property is injuring him. No tax would have to be laid on the people to pay for the Roads. Legal

Tender Treasury Notes can be issued direct from the Treasury to pay for them; thus adding to our circulation without taxing anybody. By operating the Roads upon a basis which would yield 5 per cent. upon their actual value, we would save \$350,000,000 per year in freights and yet accumulate a fund in the Treasury which would soon pay the price of the property.

Third. That it is Paternalism.

No more so than the Post Office is. No more so than coining money is. When a power becomes dangerous to the life of the Republic, the Republic must subordinate that power or die. That is the situation today.

Fourth. That persons injured by the trains will have no redress.

The jurisdiction of the Court of Claims can be extended to embrace such issues. There is no trouble whatever on that point.

Fifth. That it will put the Roads "in Politics."

Where are they now? Would to God we could say they are not in politics:—controlling, corrupting and enslaving. By substituting Government ownership, we take away the motive for plundering the people, and the crime will die with the death of the motive. If the people are capable of Self Government, they can be trusted with the Railroads. Civil Service Reform is an assured fact of the near future and this will prevent indiscriminate use of Railway appointments for Political purposes. Certainly the isolated, moderately paid, closely watched Railway official, whether Republican or Democrat, cannot do anything like the harm that is now done by closely organized, lavishly paid Railroad Kings, who defy watching and control elections and legislative issues, by shameless use of the Corporate funds. This could not be done under Government ownership.

ADVANTAGES CONSIDERED.

First. It would give a death blow to the "Reign of the Corporation." The people would be boss again.

Second. It would stop corrupt Legislation in their behalf. That motive would be gone.

Third. It would unshackle Trade and Commerce from "the Trust" and "the Ring." They cannot operate without the aid of the Railroad.

Fourth. It would stop discriminations against certain places. The motive would be gone. The Post Office treats all alike. So would the Government Railway.

Fifth. It would stop speculative Railroad Buildings. The Government would lay out a new Road where needed and nowhere else.

Sixth. It would to a great extent destroy the tyranny of Capital over Labor, and render strikes well nigh obsolete.

Seventh. It would enable the Cotton Planter to exchange products with the Corn Planter on fair terms which would leave a profit to both. At present the Railroads impoverish them both.

Eighth. It would remove the causes of the hatred of the people to the Roads and harmonize all interests.

Ninth. It would equalize the power the Roads now have to destroy a business, a section, or an individual.

Tenth. It would put into the hands of the people a weapon with which they could destroy any Combine among Capitalists on any Article of Commerce.

Eleventh. It would save enormous sums now paid in fancy salaries.

Twelfth. It would save the thousands of lives lost every year for lack of safety appliances.

Thirteenth. It would bring about absolute Free Trade and cheap traffic, between all sections of this great Country; destroy "the pool"; knock the pins from under the Stock broker; put an end to the insolence with which so many officials treat the Public; remove the leverage which English Capital has on our Labor and its Products; give a death-blow to this internal "booming" of towns and cities at the expense of the country and for the benefit of a few Capitalists over many Laborers. It would be a giant strike in the direction of equality and manhood rights, and to the destruction of our Class System of Special Privilege, based on Commercial Spoils.

It might be well for the taxpayers to remember that these bondholders have already absorbed the enormous sum of \$3,243,629,647 unnecessarily, which, if it had been applied to the building or purchase of railroads for the people, would have built and equipped over 200,000 miles, giving the people their transportation at cost, and, if the same policy is continued, nearly as much more will be absorbed before the old war debt is paid.

In the general summing up of the long list of wrongs done to the industrial millions, we might consistently take into consideration the millions extracted by a system of "protective robbery," under the false guise of increasing wages and fostering industry. It would take a Treasury expert to estimate the untold millions paid into the coffers of trusts, corporations and combinations, which has been added to the necessities of life during the past thirty years. How long

would the people have endured this legalized robbery had every purchase made by the consumer been itemized under the three following heads?

1st. Manufacturer's net cost, with reasonable profits of wholesaler and retailer.

2d. Amount paid into the United States Treasury as revenue tariff.

3d. Amount taxed for the benefit of the manufacturer and trusts.

We imagine that little disturbance caused by dumping a few chests of British tea into Boston harbor would have been a microscopic act beside the protests made by 70,000,000 of our overtaxed people. This indirect taxation has been covered up and smothered over by falsehood, misrepresentation and legalized fraud, until the coils of a monstrous financial anaconda have been wrapped around labor and industry with the cords of party ties, and the masses have been hypnotized into submission. This fact was thoroughly demonstrated in a Presidential election, when Hanna cracked the party whip, moistened with lies, lucre and lust, and marched hypnotized labor to the ballot-box, shouting, "McKinley, prosperity and protection."

How long the people will sleep before they awake to a consciousness of their helpless condition is the serious consideration of every patriotic citizen who believes in a government administered by the people, for the people and in the interest of the people.

An economic writer makes the assertion that 50,000 capitalists owned everything worth having in this country.

With the Civil War, and the legislation growing out of it, I will not here deal, because the subject is fully treated elsewhere.

The administrations of Andrew Johnson, General Grant, Mr. Hayes, General Garfield and General Arthur were signalized by the steady advance of the Money Power, whose foundations were the laws which gave special privileges to corporations at the expense of natural citizens.

Bonds payable in lawful currency were changed so as to read, "payable in coin"; and bonds, payable in coin, were changed so as to read, "payable in gold." Thus the money of final payments was limited to the scarcer metal, instead of both silver and gold, as Hamilton, Morris, and Jefferson had originally created our financial system.

Unconstitutional? Of course it was.

The law discriminated against the paper money which had been good enough for the Union soldier, and depreciated

its value; but the banker (who had demanded the law of the Exception Clause) was permitted to collect this cheaper currency and exchange it, dollar for dollar, for government bonds, payable in coin.

As fast as this paper money was exchanged for bonds, the Government burned the paper which competed with the bankers' coin.

In these successive manipulations, Congress gave the Moneyed Class *several billion dollars* of unearned profits.

Then, when the "crime of 1873" had been made complete by the Democratic party, in the repeal of the last law which recognized the monetary equality of the silver dollar, the few who held the gold were masters of both Government and people.

A writer in one of the magazines sums up the shameful story in these words:

"In order to estimate fully the enormous expense, which has been an unnecessary burden upon labor and industry, imposed upon the taxpayers by the moneyed Shylocks who took advantage of the people during our Nation's peril, we have but to quote from statistics published in the *New York World Almanac* of 1897, which are, without doubt, taken from the public records of the Secretary of the Treasury and are presumed to be official. After having paid the amounts quoted below, we must remember that on November 1, 1896, the National debt amounted to \$1,785,412,640.90, which is 50 per cent. greater at the present price of the products of labor and industry—which will be called upon to meet this obligation—than at the close of the war. The amount actually paid and remaining unpaid is as follows:

Indebtedness in 1897, and unpaid.....	\$1,785,412,640.90
Amount of premium on loans and purchase of bonds	119,863,408.00
Total interest paid from 1864 to 1897 in- clusive, estimating 1897 interest the same as 1896	2,623,766,239.00
Paying bonds in gold by the passage of the "Credit Strengthening act," estimated at....	500,000,000.00
Estimating future interest to be paid at one-half already paid	1,311,883,119.50
Making the total cost of the war as manipulated by our national financiers to be the enormous sum of.....	\$6,340,925,407.40
The amount which has already been paid is.....	3,243,629,647.00
Estimated amount yet to be paid is.....	3,097,295,760.40
Yet the original debt at the close of the war was only	2,680,647,869.74

This amount could have and should have been carried by

the people as currency, and it would only have cost, at the time, the printing of these non-interest-bearing currency "bonds." This enormous amount has unnecessarily been paid to the bondholders, that they may have the extreme pleasure of growing fat and arrogant at the expense of the people, and that their daughters may bring forth "Princes and Dukes" by the score, sired by the poverty-stricken aristocracy of the Old World.

What a delightful picture to present to the "fathers of our country," should they ever return on a tour of inspection! It is doubtful if they would recognize their own "child of liberty."

Is it not about time that every man asks himself this question, "Am I responsible by my vote for giving this gigantic aggregation of millionaires the legal right thus to rob the people, as well as the power to dictate the price of everything we eat, wear and consume?"

During President Cleveland's first administration, he made strenuous efforts at reform, but accomplished little. His views on Tariff revision alarmed the beneficiaries of special privilege, and they combined to defeat him. Benjamin Harrison was elected by the Republicans, and proved to be an honest, obstinate President who could not be swerved from the line of duty, as he saw it. Therefore, the Wall Street interests again combined, and re-elected Cleveland. (1892). His second administration was as cynically rotten, as his first had been professedly virtuous. The midnight bond deal, the Tariff bill which he denounced but refused to veto, the repeal of the last law which favored silver as the equal of gold, the great increase in expenditures, created profound indignation throughout the country.

The McKinley administration is memorable by reason of the Spanish-American War, and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. Those topics are treated elsewhere in this volume.

Upon the assassination of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became President. His inflated ideas on Militarism caused an enlargement of the Navy, a vast increase in governmental expenses, and a more aggressive foreign policy. He virtually assumed a protectorate over the countries south of us.

Mr. Roosevelt willed the Presidency to Judge William Howard Taft, and the legatee broke the will, while enjoying the legacy. Mr. Taft chose Roosevelt's dearest enemies for his closest friends, quit trying to reform anything, signed the most infamous Tariff bill that Congress ever enacted, and gave silent consent, while the Sugar Trust grabbed the most valuable lands in the Philippines Islands and the Electric

trust was attempting to steal immensely valuable power-sites on our rivers.

The feud between Taft and Roosevelt split the Republican party, and caused the election of Professor Woodrow Wilson, a Princeton man, who had made the Specially Privileged Interests a most satisfactory governor of New Jersey.

Hon. Champ Clark had fairly won the Democratic nomination, when a perfidious attack, made on him in his absence *by an instructed Clark delegate*, ruined him.

A blacker piece of premeditated treason was never successfully carried out, between two political crooks—W. J. Bryan and Woodrow Wilson—than that which dashed the hopes of Champ Clark at the Baltimore Convention, (1912.)

During Wilson's entire term, he has had a Jesuit for his private secretary and this man—a 4th Degree Knight of Columbus—has stood between President and people, insulting Masons and Protestants at his pleasure, compelling the appointment of Knights of Columbus to the most influential, lucrative positions, and bitterly opposing all applicants who were not Roman Catholics, or dependable serfs of the Trusts.

During the whole of this administration, there has not been made one law for the general good of the people.

The beneficiaries of Special Privilege, the Romanists, and the exploiters of Mexico have dictated laws and policies.

(1.) From the days of Thomas Jefferson, down to 1904, the Democratic platform *always* contained a strong denunciation of national banks. It was omitted in 1904. *Why?*

Because Democrats had ceased to be in favor of Constitutional currency; had become British Monometalists; and had accepted national banks, *as the necessary machinery of the Gold-standard Money-trust.*

(2.) From the days of Thomas Jefferson, down to 1916, the Democratic party *always* opposed a standing army, and *always* declared that State militia was the Republic's surest reliance for defence. This was reserved in the platform of 1916. *Why?*

Because it had appropriated \$600,000,000 for "Preparedness," and had tricked the young men into enlisting for 6 years, by raising a hysterical clamor against 500 Villista "bandits."

(3.) From the days of Thomas Jefferson the Democratic party has *always* combatted a protective Tariff, which was declared to be an immoral, unconstitutional system of enriching one branch of production, at the expense of the others. But they have revolutionized their position. *Why?*

Because the Underwood-Wilson Tariff of 1913 is one of the most *protective* measures ever enacted; and its actual

operation has so impoverished the unprotected producers, that pauperism spreads its gloom from sea to sea; while the manufacturers, *protected from competition*, have glutted the bank vaults with their class-law profits.

For the first time in its history, the Democratic party has declared in its platform that the purpose of the Tariff is *not* what the Constitution says it must be (to raise revenue) but *is*, and should be, a *protection* to American manufacturers *against competition*.

If *that* isn't the doctrine of Alexander Hamilton the Federalists, Henry Clay, the Whigs, Horace Greeley, Thad Stevens, James G. Blaine, William McKinley, William Howard Taft, and the Republicans generally, then I've lost my wits and don't know my alphabet.

The deceitful plea for "Infant Industries," is no longer needed: the false pretense that the Tariff-wall is built to protect the American laborer from the Pauper labor of Europe, can now be allowed to fall into disuse.

The Democrats boldly declare that our billionaire Trusts must be protected from European competition—at the same time that the wide-open doors of Immigration admits the pauperism of Roman Catholic Europe to pour in upon us, like a deluge, endangering our institutions, and subjecting the American wage-earner to unlimited and ruinous competition.

SMOTHERING THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

To sign the Burnett Immigration bill, would cause the President to enrage the Catholic priests, and the Trust magnates: to *again* veto it, would enrage Protestants and workmen: hence, the Democrats smother the bill in Committee.

Thus, you'll observe that the Democrats have become good Republicans on the Money Question, on the Tariff question, and on the question of Militarism.

Are there any questions bigger than those? Not in economics and administration.

Hamilton's theory was that a Moneyed Aristocracy should rule, by controlling the currency, and the national debt.

The Democrats are right there.

Hamilton's theory was that American manufacturers should have a monopoly of the Home Market.

The Democrats are right there.

Hamilton's theory was that the people are incapable of self-government, and that a strong military establishment is necessary, to keep the masses under.

The Democrats are right there.

They are holding to the policy of Imperialism, by retain-

ing the Philippine Islands, and sending out an ever increasing lot of harpies to feed upon them.

They are increasing the offices, the prodigious expenditures, and the sizes of salaries.

They are giving Republican negroes as much patronage, as the Republicans gave them.

They have surrendered to the Jesuits and the Pope, even more abjectly than the Republicans did.

They have refunded more than half the public debt, *at a higher rate of interest*. The Republicans allowed the bondholders 2 per cent: the Democrats allowed them 3. At one shuffle, we thus give them more than *one hundred million dollars*, taken from the common people.

The Republicans charged the pet banks 2 per cent. on Government deposits. The Democrats don't charge them *anything*.

The Republicans passed a Rural Credits bill through the Senate, providing government money for direct loans to all farmers who could give security.

The Democrats killed that bill, in the House; and they have passed one which *allows land-owners the precious privilege of mortgaging their estates to the Regional banks*, through the medium of a bunch of so-called Land-loan banks.

The Government will not create any new money for direct loans to the farmer, and no lessee or tenant can borrow at all.

The national banks are left on top, as usual, and the lawyers for these patriotic associations of our gold-brick Rural Credits.

COMPARE THEIR PREACH WITH THEIR PRACTICE.

They loudly declare their devotion to the laboring man, and have proved the sincerity of the professions by refusing to see that his two deadliest enemies are *Unrestricted Immigration*, which throws against him the torrents of European poverty; and *the Trusts*, which limit the number of employers, and empower the Interlocked Corporations to say to Labor the same that they say to the cattle raiser, "*Take our price, or keep your marketable product.*"

And the same Trusts, which the Democrats refuse to prosecute and dissolve, meet the laborer, and every other citizen who goes into market for the necessities of life, and say to him:

"*Pay our price, or go naked, and hungry, without coal in the grate, without covering on the bed, without cheer in the home, without hope in the heart.*"

In their legislation and failure to enforce the law, they

have put into practise, what that angelic Republican, the late J. P. Morgan said:

"They will take what we offer, or they will starve."

In the platform and the very recent Press-bureau propaganda, the Wilson Democrats have vehemently expressed their passionate attachment to the farmer.

HOW THEY HELPED TO ROB THE FARMER OF \$400,000,000.

It was to the representatives of the farmer that this same Woodrow Wilson declared, coldly, in 1914, that the farmer need not expect any relief from the Government; and it was the benevolent son-in-law of this same Woodrow Wilson who hastily issued more than \$300,000,000 of 3 per cent government money to the pet national banks, in order that the speculators might take advantage of the distressed farmer, and buy his product at \$30 a bale—about \$10 a bale below cost.

They then immediately took the Government into the Insurance business, wrote a policy of \$70 on the same bale, and when the ship went down at sea, we paid the gambler his \$70.

The Democrats thus financed the gamblers in stealing \$400,000,000 from the farmers whose votes they had obtained under false pretenses; whose votes they did not need, in 1914; but whose votes they now eagerly seek, *again*, in 1916 under pretenses as perfidiously false as were those of 1912.

HOW THEY FAVOR POPERY IN THEIR PLATFORM.

In the platform, of 1916, they eloquently set forth the fervent fidelity to *Americanism*, and to the distinctive principles upon which our forefathers established this Government; yet, in the same platform, they denounce any *religious* society or issue; thus going out of our way to *condemn those patriotic organizations* which have formed in self-defense, *and upon American principles*, against the Jesuits and the Knights of Columbus, *whose tenets constitute a deadly menace to our liberties*.

The Democrats have therefore told the people, that a *foreign system, antagonistic to ours*, may be introduced, by means of the Pope's oath-bound secret societies; and the leaders of these papal societies may control the White House, in the person of Tumulty; the Public Printing, in the person of Ford; the Custom houses, in the person of such appointees as Malone; the diplomatic service, in the persons of Romanist ambassadors, ministers and envoys; the Democratic convention, in the persons of Murphy, Sullivan, McCombs, and Glynn; but *Americanists* must not organize to resist the constant aggressions of *these subjects of a foreign power*.

CHAPTER VIII.

A CHAPTER ON SOCIALISM.

SECTION 1.—THE LAND.

“My reason teaches me that land cannot be sold. The Great Spirit gave it so his children to live upon, and cultivate as far as is necessary to their subsistence, and so long as they occupy it and cultivate it; but if they voluntarily leave it, then any other people have a right to settle upon it. Nothing can be sold but such things as can be carried away.”

So spake Black Hawk, the Indian Chief, in 1831, when Abraham Lincoln and sundry other white Christians were preparing to drive the Red Man farther toward the West.

Substantially the same language is held by the Socialists of today, and many thoughtless people are led astray by the Black Hawk theory of land ownership.

There never was a savage tribe that did not hold the Black Hawk belief.

As long as people were few, lands plentiful, and the habits of mankind were migratory and unsettled, no other theory of land ownership was natural.

When a few patriarchal families were the only human beings that existed in all the vast expanse of Asia, and when personal property consisted of nothing but flocks and herds, it was the most natural thing in the world that each herd should belong, in common, to the whole family, and that, as one pasture was eaten out, they should move on to another.

When a few wandering tribes of naked savages were the only human inhabitants of the North American Continent, and the land was put to no use whatever save as a boundless game preserve, dotted at rare intervals with wretched little corn patches, how could the idea of separate ownership of land get into an Indian's head?

He had no domestic animals. His wife was his only beast of burden. His house was a raw-hide stretched on a pole. As soon as he got it too nasty even for an Indian's comfort, he pulled up his pole, bundled the hide, and laid the house, the baby, and the household effects upon the shoulders of his affectionate squaw, while he—“big chief” that he was! majestically stalked in front, toting a feather on his head and a bow in his hand, looking for a clean place whereon he might erect his raw-hide residence.

Clearly, to such a man the selling of land would be a sacrilege—simply because he would then have to settle down at the

same place all the time and could no longer move from hill to hill, valley to valley, plain to plain.

As we have had occasion to say heretofore, this holding of the land in common was the original system of every savage tribe of which we have any account. It is a system which is natural to the savage or primitive state—and to no other. It exists today among every one of the remaining tribes of barbarians—and it does not exist anywhere else.

When unsettled lands were plentiful and the number of human beings were small, private property in land did not exist as it exists today.

A cave was the dwelling of Smith as long as Smith stayed there and lived in it. A clearing was the farm of Jones as long as Jones occupied it and worked.

When Black Hawk expressed his idea of the law, in 1831, he uttered precisely what is the law of primitive times and primitive people.

But as mankind increased in numbers and began to cluster together in villages and towns, how could the old system continue?

There were not caves enough to go around, and even raw-hide tenements, after awhile, were not the luxuries they had once been thought; consequently ambitious men began to think of building permanent huts.

But who would take the trouble to build his family a hut if it was to belong to all creation after he had got it built?

Is it not perfectly clear that before Jones would invest his labor and his talent in building a house that he would have to know that it was to be his house after it was built?

And is it not equally clear that he would wish to own the soil on which the house stood?

Could he afford to invest his time, labor, and mechanical genius on any other basis?

Most certainly not. The process of reasoning which shows how the increasing wants and aspirations of the human race naturally led to the private ownership of houses and lots will apply equally well to farms.

No man would clear away the forest and reduce the wilderness to a state of cultivation unless he was first made satisfied that said farm would belong to him.

But according to the Black Hawk logic, the house and the lot, and the farm ought to belong to the first owner only so long as he continued to use it. If he voluntarily left it, then the first fortunate vagrant that happened along might lawfully take possession and hold title.

Precisely. And for many a century that was the custom.

With what result? Simply that there were endless feuds,

struggles, contentions, battles and murders over that very question of "who shall be the next owner."

Evidently the next owner would be the man that had the stoutest arm, the quickest foot, the steadiest nerve, the deadliest aim. The land went to the strongest—which is the only possible rule of decision in a savage state.

This bloody feud over the succession occurred most frequently at the death of the first owner. Over his grave fought, like wild beasts, the men who contended for the land that his death left vacant.

To put an end to this demoralizing custom it was made a law that the children of the dead man should be the owner after his death; and if there were no children, then the land should go to the king.

After awhile it was found that the certainty of getting their father's land, after his death, had the tendency to make children disobedient, rebellious, idle and vicious; hence a law was made allowing the owner to make a will in which he could select the fortunate person who should take possession after his death.

And when once there was admission of the principle that the first owner could select the next owner, it inevitably followed that he could sell his ownership in his life time, as well as give it away in his last Will and Testament.

Thus we see how the very necessities of the case drove the law-makers into recognizing private ownership of land.

SECTION 2. From the preceding article it will be seen that the private ownership of land was evolved naturally as the human race progressed toward society and civilization.

As long as there was enough land to furnish every member of the tribe a new home as soon as he got tired of the old one, permanent ownership of a given spot was not desirable.

As long as the tribe lived on fish, wild beasts, fruits, and roots—arraying themselves in the gaudy garb of cow-hide and buck-skin, and roosting around in caves, bark-huts, and hollow trees—private ownership of land was not a necessity.

But the moment population became dense at any point it naturally followed that the spontaneous productions of the earth failed to meet the wants of the community. Game was soon exhausted, fish became scarce, the fruits and roots dear to the savage heart were insufficient.

The tribe could not move on to a new place, simply because the places were all filled. The human race had so multiplied that all the available places were occupied.

Then what?

The tribe had to settle down.

What next?

The land had to be cleared, drained, prepared for cultivation, planted and worked—so that food might be produced.

Then what?

The man who did the work claimed the land.

Why not?

Did not his labor make the farm? Was the wilderness a farm before labor took hold of it?

If labor took the wilderness and made a garden out of it, should not the garden belong to the laborer who made it?

The Socialists say that land cannot be made—therefore it cannot be owned.

“Merrie England” is the name of a recent publication which enjoys high favor among the Socialists. It is claimed that a million copies of the work have been sold. I take this book, therefore, as an accepted exponent of Socialism, and will discuss some of its weird propositions, from time to time.

On page 57 of the “Merrie England” the author says:

“Land, you will reserve, is the gift of nature. It is not made by man. Now, if a man has a right to nothing but that which he himself has made, no man can have a right to the land, for no man made it.”

Yet on page 222 of this same precious book the ingenious author says:

“When I was in Ireland I visited some estates upon the Galtee Hills. I saw farms that had been made by the tenants. I saw places where the peasants had gone up into the bleak hills, where the limestone blocks lay thick, and only a thin layer of sandy turf covered the rock, and had spent twenty years in making the land.

“They removed the boulders, they dug up soil in the valleys, and carried it up the steepes in baskets; they bought manure and lime and they built their own hovels out of mud and stones.”

In other words, the author of “Merrie England,” having first announced as his fundamental doctrine that land cannot be made by man, goes right ahead, with genuine Socialist incoherence to show how man does make land.

Man found a barren rock on the Galtee Hills in Ireland, carried soil up to it in baskets, spread the soil on the rocks, mixed in manure and lime—and the result was land, not rock.

And the Socialist author of “Merry England” knows it’s so because he saw it.

All right. It everlastingly knocks out the support from under his entire argument against private ownership.

In a literal sense labor makes no product. Labor, however, makes a farm in the same sense that it makes a pair of shoes.

God furnishes the raw materials for the farm just as he does for the shoes.

The Socialist would hardly object to private ownership of a pair of shoes, yet before Labor laid its magic touch on the marsh, or the cane-brake, or the forest, it was no further from being the farm it afterwards became than was the cow's hide, while on the back of the cow, from being a pair of shoes.

In each case, labor seized a native product and converted it to a civilized use.

And, in each case, labor's equitable title to the finished product is the same.

The men who built the dike, walled out the sea, and snatched the fertile fields of Holland from underneath the waves—did they not make the land and were they not entitled to hold it against the world?

The men who drained the Everglades and gave to the plow and the hoe vast malarial swamps where nothing but wild animals could thrive before,—had they no just claim of title to that which they had redeemed from waste?

Take the millions of acres on the earth's surface which were arid wastes until human genius and industry came along and led the irrigating ditch to the grateful bosom of the thirsty soil:—do they not furnish another illustration of the manner in which labor makes land?

The man whose toil turns a desert into a garden is as much entitled to that garden as he is to that which he produces in it.

To say that he may own the fruit produce of the garden, but not the garden itself, is a distinction without a difference. Possession, coupled with the right to ownership of the produce, is legal title to that which produces the produce. Grant that if I make a garden of a desert, the fruits belong to me—then I have the right to give or sell to another.

Argue it any way you like you reach the same result. If labor on my farm gives me title to the corn made, then labor which made the farm out of a forest, or a desert,—makes the farm mine. If my title is good in the one case it is good in the other. Labor is the foundation of both.

If the corn is mine, I can sell it.

If the land is mine, I can sell it.

There is not a farm in Europe nor in America which was not made by labor in the same sense that shoes, and hats, and houses, and steamboats are made. Between the arable land as it now appears, and the savage wilderness from which Labor rescued it, there is the same difference that exists between trees and lumber, between wool and cloth, between iron ore and the finished locomotive.

The forest would never any more have become a wheat field without labor than a pine tree would have become a house.

The author of "Merrie England", like all Socialists, rails at the present owners of land, and calls them "robbers".

This accusation, if true, does not touch the question at issue. The fact that a thief steals my shoes does not at all lessen the force of the argument in favor of the private ownership of shoes. Every man in America may have "robbed" somebody of a pair of shoes—but that fact alone does not prove anything against my right to own shoes.

Therefore if the land has been snatched by the robbers from the true owners, the remedy for that evil is obvious. Restore the land to the true owner.

And who is he?

(1) The laborer who reclaimed it from its native state and made a farm out of it;—he and his descendants. If he and his descendants still own, let him alone; he has a right to it.

(2) If a purchaser from said first owner owns it, let him alone; the first owner had a right to sell it to whom he pleased.

If some wrong doer has ousted the descendants of the first owner, or the descendants of the purchaser from the first owner, then let the law intervene and compel restitution.

The "robbers" may hold much of the land, as they unquestionably do everything else.

They always have managed to take and to hold a considerable share of the lands, goods, houses and chattels which honest people owned.

From the very beginning, it pleased God to permit the existence of "robbers", and they have enjoyed much apparent good fortune in the world.

One of them we must remember was preferred to Christ by a blinded populace—the robber being voted his liberty while the Great Reformer was voted to the Cross.

The fact that "robbers" have more than their share of land proves nothing against the man who holds his acres as honestly as he holds his shirts.

But the indictment of the author of "Merrie England" is too sweeping. The robbers do not own all the land.

In France the peasant proprietor seems to be master of the situation; in Germany, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, the small land-owner is to be found enjoying all the luxury of "Home."

In Great Britain the government has long since adopted the system of lending tenants the money to buy land; and in America the soil, as yet, belongs to him who is entitled to it by the law of Labor and of Nature.

There are upwards of two hundred millions of acres of

land in these United States even now, waiting to become the property of the first settler who will go and make a farm out of the "wild land."

Therefore the statement that the "Robbers" own the land is not true.

And even if it were true, it would not prove that an honest man ought not to hold land by any honest title.

SECTION 3. "All property is robbery," said Proudhon, a French revolutionist whose views upon this subject are now admitted to have been substantially the same as those held by Karl Marx and most of the later Socialists.

Is it true that all property is robbery?

Let us go back to first principles, and inquire how it is that property begins. We shall then be in a better position to form an intelligent opinion. How did property in horses arise?

By the catching and taming of the wild horse.

In that case who was robbed? Property in all domestic animals arose in the same way. Wild animals were domesticated, and the cow, the sheep, the goat, the hog became the property of the man who had captured and tamed them.

Was anybody "robbed" when wild animals were thus subjected to man's dominion and made to contribute to the food and clothing of the human race?

The Socialist constantly harps on the argument that air, water and the ocean are free to all, and that therefore the land, coal beds, iron mines, stone quarries, gold and silver mines, etc., should be equally free to all.

When he looks over the ocean and sees that no private ownership exists therein he fills his soul with a great joy, and says, Thus should it be with the land also.

Let us examine this favorite position of the Socialists and see if it is really so much of a Gibraltar as he thinks it is.

Labor and possession are the foundation rocks upon which ownership of anything is built.

Abraham digs a well in a land where he does not own a foot of the soil. Patriarchal families are still moving with their flocks and herds from plain to plain, valley to valley. It is a time when the world has few inhabitants. The home of the family shifts from place to place, and the human race lives mainly upon milk and fruits and flesh.

But Abraham digs the well, and thus gets a water supply where before it was lacking. He does not claim the land, but he does claim the well. Why? Because his labor had utilized that particular supply of water.

Not having had the benefit of any modern Socialistic logic, Abraham was simple enough to believe that the laborer was justified in claiming ownership of the product of his labor.

It did not occur to his untutored mind that he was committing "robbery" in setting up title to a hole in the ground which he had laboriously scooped out, and of the water collected there.

He had "dugged that well"—therefore he claimed it; and he and his son Isaac were so stubbornly positive upon the subject that the Philistines and other antique cranks and Socialists finally let them alone.

Thus it is that the Bible furnishes an example of the manner in which Labor claims its own, and enforces its dominion over earnings produced.

What title could be more just?

Water is free to all, says the Socialist.

No, it isn't—and it never *was any* freer than the land.

The fountain may gush forth its supply ever so freely, but when Rebecca goes to the pool with her vessel, and fills it—that vessel of water is Rebecca's.

Her labor separated it from the common supply, and her possession of it is good against the world.

Private ownership in water and in water supplies was claimed and conceded prior to the claiming of private ownership in the land,—the moment private necessity separated a portion of the water, or water supply, from the common stock, that moment private ownership began in the water so separated.

Air and light, say the Socialists, are free to all, and are incapable of private ownership—hence the land should be free likewise.

Just so far as human necessities require, air and light are subject to private ownership, and the law takes good care to enforce a provision so necessary to human comfort and safety.

Have we no ownership in air and light?

Why is it then that the humblest land-owner in this republic can arraign and punish and destroy any nuisance by which the air that surrounds his home is polluted?

Why do the courts so constantly compel the removal of butcher pens, livery stables, cess pools, rotting carcasses, etc., from adjoining premises if the citizen has no right to the enjoyment of pure air?

The enjoyment of light and pure air are inseparably connected with the ownership of land. No person would care to buy land if he could not assure himself of the enjoyment of pure air; and no man would build a house if some other man could build higher on an adjacent lot and, by overhanging projections of any sort exclude the light from the humbler home.

Therefore a moment's reflection will convince any one that private ownership of water, light and air is recognized just so

far as human necessity requires. No one can befoul even the running stream or destroy its uses to the proprietor below; nor can the air be polluted by noxious vapors, dangerous gases, or uncomfortable stinks.

The ocean itself falls under the same rule; it is capable of private ownership so far as human necessities require it. In 1894 we had a Commission sitting in Paris, at great expense, and gravely deliberating upon—what? The ownership of the Seals taken in Behring Sea. Whoever owned the sea owned the seals, and therefore Great Britain and the United States selected some of their ablest citizens to determine the question, who owns the Sea.

It was only the other day that the European powers were beseeching the Sultan of Turkey for permission to send some extra guard-ships through the Dardanelles—recognizing that Turkey owned that portion of the sea.

Every nation owns the ocean which washes its shores, at least a marine league out. Within that limit no other nation would be permitted to exercise unfriendly dominion.

All the natural harbors have long since been appropriated to the exclusive ownership of the nation which owns the contiguous land. No part of the ocean is without an owner—except in so far as it is incapable of ownership.

The Fisheries have owners, the oyster beds have owners. The sailor scours the ocean wastes searching for the whale; incurs privations, endures severest toil, risks life itself to harpoon and capture the wild seahorse of the deep.

Whose whale is it after it is caught?

Should it not belong to the private individuals whose labor was expended in the search, pursuit and capture?

On what theory of common sense or justice is the property in the captured whale a "robbery" of the land lubbers who stayed at home, ate parched pea-nuts by the fire, and talked Socialism, while those hardy Whalers were braving the perils of the whaling voyage?

The ship is man's "home" on the ocean, and the place he occupies with his ship is *his* for every possible purpose. He can cast anchor anywhere he likes and his title by occupancy is good against the world. In the very nature of things private ownership could go no further. He could stay there as long as his ship lasted, if he chose to do so. Or he could sell his ship, and the buyer could remain in possession.

There are plenty of people who live in Boat-houses; some for business, and some for pleasure. In either event, they could not do so if they were compelled to continually obey the command to "move on."

Their Boat-house takes possession of a given place in the

lake, or sea, or ocean, and that place becomes *theirs* as long as they occupy it.

All this being unquestionably true, what becomes of the favorite "argument by analogy" of the Socialists?

The analogy is all the other way. The policy of the law of every civilized country is to assign an owner to everything capable of ownership. In no other way can the peace, good order, and dignity of Society be preserved.

The Jersey cow has had an owner for a dozen centuries; that's the reason why she will yield 365 pounds of butter in a year. Human labor, care and wise management has achieved such a triumph in her case that she is no more to be compared to the wild and fuzzy cow, in its natural state, than the Jersey farm, producing tons of produce to the acre, is to be compared to the bleak hill-side where two dollar's worth of labor may possibly produce fifty cents worth of "truck."

Who ought the Jersey cow belong to?

To all of us, cries the Socialist.

So it should—if "all of us" did the work to improve her; not otherwise.

The Jersey farm, enriched and wisely worked from age to age until it becomes a marvel of beauty and fertility—who should it belong to?

To all of us, chirps the Socialist.

So it should, provided "all of us" labored to enrich it; not otherwise.

And there never was, so far as history enlightens us, a race of people where "all of us" were willing and able to work.

And until humanity comes out in a new edition, enlarged and improved by the Author, there never will be.

Then what?

We must either embrace the Socialist creed that *all* shall own the cow and the farm which a *few* labored to improve, or we must stand by the old doctrine that whatsoever a man sows that shall *he* reap—not some idler who did none of the sowing.

I honor the laborer from my heels up. In some form or other I have been an actual and earnest laborer all my life, and I started with the hardest manual labor in the field.

And it is because I have been a laborer, know the feelings of a laborer, and always expect to keep in touch and sympathy with the *real* laborers, that I stand so stoutly for the doctrine that the best reward and highest honor *Labor* can attain is the ownership and enjoyment of that which it produces.

SECTION 4. No other system than ownership is possible, unless the property of the present owners is to be confiscated.

The "State" could not buy out the owners of land, if the Socialist idea should prevail.

"Collective ownership" of both land and capital is to be substituted for private and individual ownership. Therefore "the State" could not *buy* Smith's land, because it will have no right to pay Smith for it. "The State," according to the Socialists must own everything; Smith must own nothing, except in common with everybody else. Hence to *pay* Smith for his land would be a violation of Socialistic principles, for it would be a recognition of Smith's right to private capital.

Smith would be no more entitled to hold the money, as his private property, than he was to hold the land. All the people, collectively, say the Socialists, must own Smith's land—also the money Smith gets for the land.

Tough on Smith:—nice for the other fellows who had no land and no money.

And when you boil it down fine that's all there is in Socialism—a wild cry for a general division.

When Populism proposes to nationalize transportation lines, the idea is to buy a public franchise which has been unwisely granted to private persons. We propose to have the property fairly assessed and honestly paid for.

But when Socialism proposes to abolish private ownership of land and capital, it means confiscation, and nothing else.

Everybody's land and everybody's money is to be thrown into the public pot, and everybody, including the landless, and the moneyless, is to come up and share equally in the soup.

With this plain explanation of Socialism, how many of our people are ready to approve it?

Do the people of this country realize what they are tampering with when they temporize with Socialism?

Are the people of these United States prepared to usher in the era of Confiscation?

Have any genuine Populists wandered so far from the original purpose of this reform movement that they are ready to surrender their homes, their fields, their horses, their cows, their cash, *and their labor* to "the public," in order that there may be a collective ownership of everything by everybody?

I do not believe it.

Many a man has perhaps listened favorably to a lot of honeyed eloquence about the "ethics of Socialism," without giving a serious thought to its *practicalities*.

How can the "ethics" be right if the "practicalities" are wrong?

If every citizen, no matter how rich, were willing to surrender all his wealth, and take in return a share in the public wealth no greater than that of any other citizen, no matter how poor, Socialism would be possible without confiscation.

But unless *all* agreed, *some* would be compelled to surrender

his property without compensation. And that is confiscation.

Let us now suppose that all private property has been surrendered to "the State," and that everybody, collectively, owns everything, and that nobody, individually, owns anything.

In other words let us imagine that Socialism has come. How will it work?

Who will say where Smith shall live, and how much land he shall till?

By what method will you allow each citizen his separate holding?

Will you call a council every March, as they used to do in Germany, and decide the division for the ensuing year by public discussion and vote?

If so, can a division be peaceably and equitably made?

Upon what principles would you make the allotment?

If you should have annual divisions, would you ever find human angels willing to make permanent improvements upon so precarious a tenure?

What motive would Smith have to build him a good house, drain his marsh, and manure his upland, if he knew that at the next annual division he might lose the home so laboriously improved?

Would a lazy man ever exert himself under a system which at the next division might give him the house and land which the most industrious had improved the year before?

Would the incompetent and unskillful workman be eager to acquire competence and skill under a system which would give an equal share to the skilled and the unskilled?

Suppose I do not wish to indulge myself in the luxuries of ditching, or of plowing a new ground, but on the other hand, prefer to paint pictures, set type, measure goods, write books, or physic the sick:—who is to decide my avocation for me?

Am I to be left to say how much of a farm I shall have, or must the farms all be equal size?

Will equal farms make unequal farmers equal?

If so who found that out, and when?

Under collective ownership and Socialism, each man is decreed to be equal. That is to say, each worker gets an equal share in the produce of all.

An engineer is to get no more than the cook on the service train. The conductor will get no more than the track hand.

The mechanic who is expert in all the mysteries of the foundry will get no more than the fireman who stuffs the furnace with coal.

The architect, in whose brain is a temple, and under whose hand that temple rears itself into majestic reality, will get no

more than the hod carrier who toted the mortar or the sand-sifter who sifted the sand.

The inventor, from whose fertile mind sprang phonographs, telephones, telegraphs, electric railways, steamboats and steam engines will get no more than the boy who runs the elevator.

The Webster of the future must share equally with his bootblack.

The Edison of the future must share equally with the drayman.

The Gladstone of the future will get no more than Tommy Atkins, the private of the line.

Shakespeare must divide equally with the scene-shifter: Byron with the chamber-maid: Milton with the bell-ringer, and O'Connell with the kitchen scullion.

That's Socialism:—lovely, isn't it?

Suppose all the land to belong to "the State," and all the horses, mules, cows, hogs, sheep, etc.:—who is to decide the status of each individual in this new order of things?

In every business there must be a power of control vested somewhere. Despise "bossism" as much as we please, we still cannot get away from the fact that in every enterprise there must be a guiding hand, a voice which controls. In Socialism who is to be head-man on the farm, and who underling? How is the power of control to be arrived at?

Who is to decide which man on the farm shall ride on the cultivator and which shall clean the cow-house?

Or shall we all take our turns at the cultivator and the cow-house?

In other words, there is lots of nasty work to be done on the farms, around the houses, in the streets, and in the cess-pools:—who is to do that nasty work?

Must we all do it, each in his turn?

Under our present system each citizen chooses his own work: hence he need not be a scavenger if he has stomach-troubles along on that line. He need not be a pig-sticker, a beef-butcher, or a gutter-cleaner.

There are some people constitutionally unable to do work of that sort. Yet under Socialism, with its absolute ideas of equality in all things, no woman, however delicate, would have the right to refuse any task, no matter how gross, which came within her sphere, any more than a man would have that right in his sphere.

Are we, any of us, seriously in favor of a system under which Abraham Lincoln might have spent his whole life splitting rails, Garfield in driving a canal-boat mule, Patrick Henry in selling jeans and tobacco, Daniel Webster in raising beans and turnips?

Does any sane thinker really endorse a social revolution which coolly proposes to substitute the will of "the State" for that of the individual in determining what each shall do as his life work?

I don't believe it.

Aroused into a bitter resentment against the abuses of our present system, many of our good citizens have listened to Socialist theories of improvement,—forgetful of the fact that our system is not so much to blame as the individuals who have abused it. And they have likewise forgotten the fact that no system whatsoever will get the old Adam out of the human heart and guarantee Abel's safety as against Cain.

Our people were prosperous and happy under our present system before the abuses of it had grown great enough to be baneful.

In 1846 Charles Dickens marvelled at the general thrift and content. Not a beggar was to be seen even in Boston. Labor was fully employed, well paid, and was satisfied.

There is no reason under the sun why that golden era might not have been permanent. It passed away because our people turned a deaf ear to the warning of Jefferson; because they went back to the worst abuses of the English system; because they were false to the principles upon which our government was founded.

Most unwisely they deluded themselves with the belief that because we had no ruler called King, and no hereditary aristocracy called Princes, Dukes, Marquises and Earls, we never would be throttled with the manifold tyrannies of the English system.

Most unwisely they forgot that the same state of society could be involved by law under different names.

Privilege is privilege whether enjoyed by a Duke of England, or by a Tariff Baron of America; by an Earl or by a Railroad King. And a President who constantly violates the laws of a Republic is as much to be dreaded as a sceptred King whose hand is restrained by a Parliament.

To reform our Government and rid ourselves of the abuses which have crept in, is task enough, heaven knows; but it can be done if the people will do it.

To my mind it is infinitely wiser to devote our energies to this work, which is practical, than to be star-gazing after the delusions and absurdities of Socialism.

New Zealand is claimed to be the happiest land on earth.

The voice of Labor coming from that country sounds a Hosanna which grows more joyous year by year. Yet in New Zealand every citizen is not only permitted but is encouraged to own his individual land and home.

Land monopolies are made impossible, large holdings discouraged, but private ownership sanctioned.

That is my idea precisely. I would encourage every citizen to own a home; I would discourage the land grabber by a progressive tax. But to say that Smith's home belongs to *everybody* is a doctrine which I abhor. It is profoundly immoral and dangerous.

And why so?

Because the logic which drives you to a community of goods is radically opposed to the system whose glory is *One Wife*.

God forbid that our people should tamper with Socialism. It is utterly subversive of our domestic institutions, radically antagonistic to our marital system.

The earlier Socialists did not hesitate to declare their opposition to the marriage relation.

Free land went hand in hand with "Free Love." Hence it was that Proudhon admitted the "prurient immortality" which lay coiled like a snake in the earlier Socialistic teachings.

The snake is still there. He is not shown so boldly as he used to be, because the Socialist has recoiled from public indignation upon that point.

But mark you this, my comrades! The same reasoning which calls for free land leads right straight on to "Free Love."

If wife and child is aught in our sight, you and I will take our stand at the sacred door of "Home, Sweet Home," and we will battle to the death with the Goths and the Vandals of Socialism.

Who ever felt at home in a hotel? Your room is only yours for the time. Out you go, and another comes. Could your affections ever cling to such a lodging? Would your domestic circle ever be at its best under such circumstances? Would your wife or daughter ever feel toward such a dwelling as she does to the home that is yours:—the home made sacred by so many joys and so many sorrows, so much sunshine and so many clouds, so much laughter and so many tears, so much of the prattle and frolic of childhood, and so much of the wisdom and sad dignity of old age?

Life in the hotel is what Socialism proposes—your room is yours till the next division. All the world will be a theater, and you occupy a seat for the time being, knowing that at the next distribution you go somewhere else.

Life in the "Home" is what the Populist proposes; a home that shall be as sacredly *his*, as his wife is sacredly his; a home that shall be his castle, his refuge, his harbor from the storms

of life; a home that his wife shall love, beautify, adorn and abide in, as long as she lives; a home in which shall dwell the memory of a father to inspire the son, of a mother to guide the daughter; a home in which every flower in the yard shall speak of "old times," every tree in the grove shall murmur of by-gone years, every brick in the hearth shall reflect a face that once we loved, and perhaps have lost.

Away with this Socialist idea which denies a man's right to own his home!

Instead of confiscating homes, let us help the homeless to get them. Beat down the abuses of our present system, abolish class-legislation, equalize taxation, purify the ballot box, give labor its just reward and deprive capital of powers it has illegally assumed—and the Land will furnish homes for all who are willing and able to work for them.

SECTION 5. To our Socialist friends we commend the following extract, taken from Plutarch's "Life on Lycurgus":

"A second and more adventurous political enterprise of Lycurgus was, a new division of the lands. In these he had found a prodigious inequality; the city overcharged with many indignant persons who had none, and the great property centered in the hands of a few. Determined therefore to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury and those still more inveterate and fatal distempers of a state, poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land and to make new ones, in such a manner *that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and manner of living*. Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction, they might seek it in virtue, so no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonor of base actions and the praises of good ones. His proposal was carried into effect. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say he made only six thousand shares for the city, and that Polydorus subsequently added three more; others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only four thousand and five hundred.

Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy medemni of grain for each man, and twelve for each woman, beside a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A story is told of him that, not long afterward, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled and said to some that were

near him, "*How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*"

After this, he attempted to divide also the movables, in order to remove all appearance of inequality, but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them; and therefore he adopted another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem. First, he stopped the currency of gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money, only; then, to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a very small value; so that to contain ten minae, a whole room was required, and to remove it, a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedaemon.

Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he was unable to conceal his booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor, if it were cut in pieces, be served by its use? For we are told that after having heated it, they quenched it in vinegar to make it brittle and immalleable and, consequently, *unfit for any other service*. In the next place, he put down unprofitable and superfluous arts; if he had not indeed done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares, neither did any merchant ship unload in their harbors.

There were not even to be found in their whole country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means by which it is cherished and supported, died away of itself."

Plutarch proceeds to relate that Lycurgus likewise decreed that the people should all eat together in public. Fifteen persons were assigned to each table, and thus the entire population of Sparta "messed" together.

Each of the fifteen persons composing the "mess" contributed monthly one bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two and a half pounds of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish.

Not only did they eat in common, but the sleeping was very much in common also.

Here, therefore, was an experiment in Socialism 870 years before Christ.

Sparta under this Socialistic system enjoyed a national youth of vigor and virtue—just as Athens, Thebes, Macedonia,

Media, Persia, Assyria, Egypt, and Rome did,—*without the Socialistic features.*

The youth of each presents much the same features, no matter what the form of government may be.

As Sparta grew rich she threw off Socialism, and developed individualism. Her greatest pre-eminence in Grecian affairs and her greatest achievement both in war and peace were accomplished *after she had discarded Socialism.*

Her old age and political death were marked by the same features which all other exhausted peoples have shown.

Even as compared to the other Grecian states, Macedonia excelled her in the arts of war, while Athens was immeasurably her superior in the arts of peace.

SECTION 6.—ORTHODOX SOCIALISM.

So far as I can recall, none of the Socialist apostles was a man who had studied conditions outside the cities. Most of the founders of the sect were dwellers within crowded centers of population. Environment counts for much, and so far as I know there has never been any real effort on the part of Socialist authors to explain how their doctrine can be made practically effective in agricultural pursuits.

This accounts for the fact that Socialism gathers its converts from the cities, chiefly; and that in rural communities it is almost without a following.

In some few localities of the country,—as distinguished from the town,—Socialism has made some headway, but in every such case it can be shown that the disciple has been deceived by the apostle. Socialism can never amount to a row of pins in rural communities, after its true nature and secret purpose have been found out.

In his heart of hearts, the average man is an individualist. That is to say, he wants to choose for himself *what* he will do, and *how much* of it he will do, and *when* he will do it. He wants to choose his own occupation, his own place of abode, his own time for work, his own time for rest. In other words, every man naturally wants to attend to his own business, and he naturally wants his neighbor to do the same thing. No man can have a reputation that makes him so universally disliked as that of "meddling with other people's business."

True, we give up a portion of our individual liberty when we enter organized society; but we do this because we gain more than we lose by it. We gain the protection of all the members of the community,—protection to life, limb, property and good name. We surrender no indispensable right by joining organized society, and we acquire indispensable pro-

tection,—to say nothing of the innumerable advantages of well-regulated social life.

Next to the in-born craving for individual liberty—liberty of conscience, of speech, of action—comes the craving for the individual home. The history of the human race shows this. The law of nature on this subject is so very broadly written that the very birds of the air, from the eagle down to the wren, fight desperately for their individual nests. Even among the wild men of the woods, and the tent dwellers of the plains, and the wandering tribes of the desert, the law is the same.

The hunting-ground belonged to the entire Indian tribe, but the hut and the corn patch belonged to the individual. The boundless plain is open to every Arab that roams the sand wastes of the East; but the moment he pitches his tent upon unappropriated soil, the tent and the ground make his individual home.

The literature of the world proves the same truth. From the dawn of time, the intense yearning for the individual home, the fierce determination to defend the home, the tender love borne the home, the heart-breaking grief over the loss of the home, finds constant and beautiful expression in poetry and prose, in sacred books and profane. What evidence of this great fact could be more convincing than those laws found in every code, whether written or unwritten, which say to the man of the house, "You may *kill* to protect your door from one who seeks with violence to pass it, and such killing shall *not* be murder."

To the same support rings out that noble adage of the law that "every man's house is his castle." Do we not recall the inspired burst of oratory in which the elder William Pitt referred to this?

"The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail—its roof may shake, the wind may blow through it, the storm may enter, but the King of England cannot enter!—all his force dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement!"

Could the vassal ever have wrung such a concession from his lord and his king, if there had not been some God-planted, unconquerable longing for the individual home?

Turn from the law book to the song book, and see how the evidence corresponds. "*Home, Sweet Home*" has absolutely no merit as poetry and not much as music, but it will start a quiver of emotion in the hearts of English-speaking people from one end of the world to the other. It has probably softened more hardened wanderers, drawn more tears from eyes not given to the melting mood, than any set of verses

ever written. Why? Because they touch the chord that God Almighty strung in the souls of his children. From pole to pole, from savage squalor to Babylonian splendor, from Arab tent to Windsor Castle, from negro cabin to Fifth Avenue palace,—touch the chord and it has always rung as true as it did in the birth-days of the universe when our parents looked back through tear-dimmed eyes at the closed gates of Eden.

From then till now, whenever a home has been lost, the grief has been the same—in each instance it was a case of *Paradise Lost*.

Now, the Socialist not only recognizes this love of the individual home as a lion in his path, but he knows that *Patriotism* is also against him. Hence, his fierce attempts to undermine and destroy the sentiment which we call Patriotism. Love of country has its root in love of home; and no man loves his home very warmly if it is nothing but a rented house, or a room in a hotel. The Socialist seeks to reduce the home-feeling to the boarding-house level. The Socialist denies you the right to the individual ownership of your home. Without this individual ownership it is not your home at all. If Mr. Everybody is to hold title to your house while you hold title to Mr. Everybody's house, neither you nor he owns a home in the true sense of the word.

You want your own home, and you are willing for Mr. Everybody to own his. You don't want to boss him, and you don't want him to boss you, in the matter of the home. You want the individual and separate ownership of your home; you want to feel secure in its improvement; you want to feel that it is yours to keep as long as you please; to sell when you get ready; to bequeath it to your wife, or son, or daughter, so that those whom you love best may enjoy what you and they have worked to make.

The Jeffersonian Democrat says "*Destroy Special Privilege; make the laws conform to the rule of Equal Rights to all, and you will put it in the power of every industrious man to own his home.*"

The Socialist says, "Let Society own the homes, and let Society move the man about, from house to house, according to the pleasure of Society."

Under that dispensation we wouldn't have any homes worthy of the name, after the present supply wore out. No man is going to toil and moil improving land and houses, unless you guarantee to him the benefit of his own labor. And when you have given him that guaranty, he will have something which is equivalent to a fee-simple title to that land.

The Socialists may squirm and squeal, but they can't get away from the facts.

* * * * *

The strength of "Orthodox Socialism" consists of two things,—*Discontent* with present conditions, and *Class-hatred*.

The Discontent is warranted, but the remedy offered would substitute one slavery for another. Under Socialism Society would elect labor-bosses, and these labor-bosses would dictate to you how you should work, when you should work and where you should work.

Could power more dangerous be given to mortal man? The angels of heaven are not wise enough and good enough to be trusted with such tremendous despotism over the destinies of a civilized people. And when we stop to think of what frightful abuses would be sure to result, it is enough to make even the Socialists tremble.

Does Society know how to pick out its best men to control public affairs? * * * Has it ever known how to do that thing? Are not the woes of the human race traceable to this very cause,—the lack of the wisdom to choose the best men for the exercise of authority? Has not that very problem baffled the statesman throughout the ages? How do we know that Socialism will do any better in that respect than other systems have done?

A wise benevolent despotism might be the best of all government, but where was there ever the despotism that was sure to have its wise, benevolent despot?

Under a good and wise king, a monarchy is not a bad government,—but who could insure the State against the wicked, tyrannical king?

An aristocracy composed of the talent and the culture and the virtue of the state, might give the common people an ideal administration,—but what aristocracy was ever based upon talent and culture and virtue?

A Democracy, such as our fathers conceived, would most assuredly be the best possible government,—if we had our fathers here to run it.

Some years ago there was a mild wave of ephemeral books carrying the title "*If Christ Came, etc.*"

W. T. Stead's conjectures were based upon Christ's coming to Chicago: M. W. Howard's on His coming to Congress. But nobody wrote upon the more appropriate subject, "*If Andrew Jackson came to the White House.*"

The government which Jackson laid down is no more like the government which proudly hails Fairbanks as Vice-President, than the automobile is like the push-cart. Yet the original idea of the cart evolved the automobile, and the con-

solidated plutocracy which rules and exploits this Union of States represents a morbid growth of original defects in our system.

How do the Socialists know that they will be able to hold bad men down? Will they change human minds and hearts? Will they be able to make the imperfect reach perfection—the human to cease to err?

If not,—woe to the land where Socialism prevails, for they propose to give their head men such a power over the lives and the labor of their fellow man as was never before proposed in the annals of the human race.

Studying the problems of life in Chicago and New York, in Berlin and Vienna, in Paris and London, it is easy for one to fall into vital error. Arguing from a local condition to a general conclusion, the student may go far astray. Certain laws, and certain conditions have caused a congestion of population at certain places; but is it impossible for the wise physician to remove the cause of that congestion, and thus restore health to the whole body?

Wealth and labor have been concentrated in the big cities; but cannot wealth and labor be equitably distributed?

Suppose we reverse the policies and laws which have caused a congestion of wealth and population, would not the process of distribution at once begin?

If we have ten thousand workmen in Chicago, out of a job, and ten thousand jobs in Georgia, out of workmen, is American statesmanship incapable of dealing with such a very simple problem?

We have ten thousand homeless families in New York hungrily eyeing the Astor estate, but have we not ten thousand farms in Texas, hungrily eyeing the horizon for the coming of ten thousand home-seeking families?

Cannot American statesmanship cope with a situation like that? Shall we never be able to direct the guest to the spare room and the spare bed? Shall we always be made wretched because every soul in the house wants to sleep in the same bed?

Ten thousand workmen cling to Chicago, when every job in the city already has two men after it; why on earth cannot the surplus of the labor be drawn off into the West and South, where two jobs are chasing every man?

There is not one of the evils upon which Socialism bases its just Discontent that cannot be removed by one simple, practical, possible and Democratic remedy—"Down with *Special Privilege!*"

As to the other foundation for Socialism,—Class-hatred,—it plays a more important part than is generally supposed.

The rank and file of the Socialist movement care nothing about scientific theories and Utopian dreams. What they want is, a part of the good things of life which the other fellow has got.

The lust for loot that winged the feet of the Vandal hordes burns in the breast of the rank and file Socialist. *Do not doubt it.* Veil the facts as they will, *the meaning* of Socialism, to the man of the rank and file, is an equal division of the wealth. "*We made it all,—we mean to take it all!*" that's the song of the Socialist camp, as the banner is set toward modern capitalism.

This slogan is listened to and applauded in the great cities, where wealth and population are congested. It wakes no response whatever in the rural communities where work is plentiful and wages high. With millions of acres of good land begging for occupancy and tillage, in almost every part of rural America, the cry for land has no force, outside the cities. Anybody who wants land can buy it on practically his own terms and his own time, provided he doesn't want to get some other man's improvements for nothing. As long as several millions of people persevere in trying to live on one square mile of dirt, abnormal conditions are inevitable. As long as laboring men flock to places where the labor market is already glutted, the workman will suffer.

God forbid that I, or any man, should dismiss such human problems as these lightly, unfeelingly. My sympathy for the weak and the oppressed is neither shallow nor fitful. I have been for the under dog all my life, and am too old now to veer from or reverse my course. But having been the poorest of poor boys myself, and having studied these questions in the lives of the poor as well as in books, I am as certain that Socialism is wrong as I am that true Democracy is right.

The Socialism of this country is largely the product of law-defying wealth. When Wall Street money-kings, like Belmont and Morgan, closet themselves at night with a President of the United States, and persuade him to give them a mortgage on the Republic for their own private profit,—Socialism uses the fact for even more than it is worth. Instead of contending that such an abuse of favoritism violates the spirit of Democratic government and should be made impossible in the future, they argue that the abuse of the system proves that the system itself is wrong, *and that Socialism is right.* Here is not only one illogical conclusion, but two.

When a man like Rockefeller pockets net profits of two million dollars per month, pays practically no national taxes, and through the bribery of a Federal judge escapes the Income Tax,—*Socialists are made.*

When a man like Harriman can juggle with railroad properties, robbing the public of hundreds of millions of dollars, yet laughing at the idea of a criminal prosecution,—*Socialists are made.*

When the Steel Trust, through Special Privilege, can earn larger net profits during the year than can be earned on six million farms by twelve million workers,—*Socialists are made.*

When Gas Trusts, and Traction Trusts, and Sugar Trusts, and National Bank Associations and Tariff Associations and Tariff Associations can plunder at will, destroying human life with remorseless cruelty in the mad rush for money, money, *MONEY*,—*Socialists are made.*

But these abuses of opportunity under our system furnish no better arguments against our system than does a loathsome glutton furnish against a good dinner. Least of all do these abuses of our system prove that *Socialism* is a desirable and workable system.

It can be shown that all abuses at which the Socialist justly rails,—*grow out of violations of the principles of our system.* The true remedy therefore is to vigorously assert those principles. The thing to do is to purge the Temple—not destroy it.

A STUDY OF WALL STREET AND THE MONEY POWER.

"Downing Street," in British politics, stands for the Administration; "Lon'on Bank" to Robert Burns typified unbounded wealth; the "White House" stands, with us, for the Presidency; and "Wall Street" means, to the minds of the people, the concentrated power of money, of corporations, of syndicates, of trusts and of speculators. A name more thoroughly detested is not to be found in the vocabulary of American politics. It has no avowed friends anywhere. At the mention of this dreaded name people think of "Black Friday," the "gold room" and the panic of 1873. They see again, in ghastly reminiscence, that wreck-strewn day of commercial storm. They hear again the crash of falling houses, the cry of human distress. They see again the wasted field, the empty home, the vagrant family, and all the nameless victims of that "glorious victory" of the lawless soldiers of fortune.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ENCROACHMENTS AND USURPATIONS OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

The only country, so far as I know, which permits a judge to set aside a law which has been duly enacted by the Legislature and approved by the Chief Executive, is the United States. In Great Britain, an Act of Parliament, sanctioned by the King, is the law of the land, no matter what any judge may think about it. This is true also of France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Russia.

The English system of government is supposed to be one of checks and balances. Theoretically, there are three great departments,—the Executive, the Judicial and the Legislative. Each of these departments of government is supposed to be a check upon the other. In this way, usurpation and tyranny are held at bay, and the liberties of the people preserved. If the executive, as represented by the King, should encroach upon the judicial power in Great Britain, the entire country would be up in arms, instantly. If the executive, represented by the King, should encroach upon the legislative, an insurrection would follow. In like manner, if a judge, no matter how great his jurisdiction and authority, should undertake to nullify the action of the legislative, or the executive, the encroachment would meet with prompt resistance.

Our own system is supposed to be modelled after that of the mother country. Theoretically, the three great departments are jealously kept separate. We imagine that we have the same system of checks and balances that the people of the mother country enjoy, and that in this way we preserve the liberties of the subject and prevent usurpation and tyranny on the part of the Government. In practice, however, we have set up a judicial tribunal, which, in the last resort, arrogates to itself the right to say whether laws shall stand, or not.

When the Constitutional Convention of 1787 convened, we must bear in mind that the thirteen States of the old confederation were separate and independent political bodies. As absolute equals, each independent of the other, they had fought for Independence. As thirteen separate, sovereign communities, they had won their triumph; and as thirteen separate, independent States, Great Britain had acknowledged their separate independence.

I think it must be admitted that while these thirteen States were extremely jealous of their independence, and none of them intended to yield to each other in matters of state's rights, they did agree to concede to the Supreme Court of the

United States jurisdiction and authority to pass upon the constitutionality of state laws; but in framing the Judiciary Act, which set up the federal courts under the new constitution, Congress was careful to limit the manner in which the constitutionality of a state law could be called in question. Oliver Ellsworth was the framer of the Judiciary Act which established the federal judiciary, and he framed the clause No. 27 which distinctly provides that the test of the constitutionality of a state law shall be made first in the state court; carried to the state Supreme Court, and from the Supreme Court of the State to the Supreme Court of the United States. This original clause of the Judiciary Act of 1789 is found in Section 709 of the Revised Statutes.

It never was contemplated by The Fathers that the constitutionality of state laws should be passed on by any federal court lower than the Supreme Court. It was meant that the lower federal courts should take the state laws as binding; until they had been set aside in the manner prescribed by Section 709 of the Revised Statutes. In this way the dignity of the state was to be preserved. It was never contemplated by these thirteen original states that their laws should be annulled by lower federal courts, and the state thus paralyzed in its action as a state.

From the very beginning, the danger of the usurpation of authority on the part of the federal judiciary was recognized. Again and again, Mr. Jefferson pointed out this fatal defect in the federal system. Even before the new constitution had been adopted, he was writing to his friends, calling their attention to the fact that under this grant of power to the federal courts the liberties of the people might be taken away, and the nature and spirit of the Government entirely changed.

In his well-known letter to Thomas Ritchie, he declared: "The Judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners, constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme one alone."

In a letter to Judge Johnson, he says: "I cannot lay down my pen without recurring to one of the subjects of my former letter, for in truth there is no danger I apprehend so much as the consolidation of our Government by the noiseless and therefore unalarming instrumentality of the Supreme Court. This is the form in which Federalism now arrays itself."

In a letter to W. H. Torrance, Mr. Jefferson says: "The second question, whether the judges are invested with exclusive authority to decide on the constitutionality of a law, has been heretofore a subject of consideration with me in the exercise of official duties. Certainly there is not a word in the Con-

stitution which has given that power to them more than to the executive of legislative branches. Questions of property, of character and of crime, being ascribed to the judges through a definite legal proceeding, laws involving such questions belong, of course, to them; and as they decide on them ultimately, and without appeal, they of course decide for themselves. The constitutional validity of the law or laws prescribing executive action, and to be administered by that branch ultimately and without appeal, the executive must decide for *themselves*, also whether under the Constitution they are valid or not; also as to laws governing the proceedings of the Legislature, that body must judge for itself the constitutionality of the law, and equally without appeal or control from its co-ordinated branches. And, in general, the new branch, which is to act ultimately and without appeal, is the rightful expositor of the validity of the law, uncontrolled by the opinions of the other co-ordinated authorities."

In debating the judiciary system of the United States Senate, the celebrated James Jackson of Georgia said: "We have been asked if we are afraid of having an army of judges. For myself, I am more afraid of an army of judges, under the patronage of the President than of an army of soldiers. The former can do us more harm. They may deprive us of our liberties if attached to the executive, from their decisions; and from the ten-year office contended for, we cannot remove them; while the soldier, however he may act, is enlisted, or, if not enlisted, only subsisted, for two years; whilst the judge is enlisted for life, for his salary cannot be taken from him."

During the same debate, that great Democrat and legislator, George Mason of Virginia said: "The judges of courts of law, as I understand them, are to settle questions of right between suitors, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to protect the citizens against the oppressive use of power in the executive offices. Not to protect them against the legislature, for that, I think, I have shown to be impossible, with the powers that the legislature may safely use and exercise, and because the people have retained in their own hands the power of controlling and directing the legislature by their immediate elections of President, Senate and House of Representatives."

During this debate, Mr. Cocke of Tennessee declared: "We have been told that the nation is to look up to these immaculate judges to protect their liberties; to protect the people against themselves."

In the same debate, Mr. Williams of North Carolina declared: "If this doctrine is to extend to the length gentlemen contend, then is the sovereignty of the government to be swallowed up in the vortex of the judiciary. Whatever the other

departments of the government may do, they can undo. You may pass a law, but they can annul it. Will not the people be astonished to hear that their laws depend upon the will of the judges, who are themselves independent of all law?"

During the same debate, Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina said: "We have heard much about the judges and the necessity of their independence. I will state one fact to show that they have power as well as independence. Soon after the establishment of the federal courts, they issued a writ to the Supreme Court of North Carolina, directing a case then pending in the state court to be brought into the federal court. The state judges refused to obey the summons, and laid the whole proceedings before the legislature, who approved their conduct, and, as well as I remember, unanimously."

In the same debate, Mr. Bacon of Massachusetts declared: "The Judiciary have no more right to prescribe, direct and control the acts of the other departments of the government than the other departments of the government have to prescribe or direct those of the Judiciary."

In the famous case of *Chisholm* against the State of Georgia, the Supreme Court of the United States passed an order requiring the State of Georgia to appear and plead, in default of which, judgment by default would be entered against the State. The court reporter adds, in a note: "In February Term, 1794, judgment was rendered for the plaintiff, and a writ of inquiry awarded. The writ, however, was not sued out and executed, so that this cause and all the other suits against states were swept out at once by the amendment to the Federal Constitution." The State of Georgia treated the Supreme Court with contempt in respect of this case, her position being that the Supreme Court of the United States had no jurisdiction of her as a party.

The position of the State of Georgia was recognized by the other states as being so clearly a necessary position for all the states, that the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution was at once passed, depriving the individual citizen of the right to sue the State. The federal judges, of recent years, have set at naught this amendment to the Constitution, and have been dragging states into the federal courts to answer suits brought against them by railroad and other corporations.

In the *Tassells* case, the legislature of Georgia passed these resolutions: "Resolved, that the State of Georgia will never so far compromise her sovereignty as an independent State as to become a party to the case sought to be made before the Supreme Court of the United States by the writ in question. Resolved, that His Excellency, the Governor, be, and he and every other officer of this State is hereby requested and en-

joined to disregard any and every mandate and process that has been or shall be served on him, or them, purporting to proceed from the Chief Justice or any Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for the purpose of arresting the execution of any of the criminal laws of this State."

How greatly have times and customs changed! One hundred years ago, every state in the Union was denying to the Supreme Court of the United States the right to take jurisdiction over the state at the instance of a private citizen or corporation. In our own day, not only do Governors and Attorneys General go meekly into the federal courts, when summoned by railroad and other corporations, but they even go into the lower federal courts, and plead for the privilege of carrying on the state government!

The usurpation of the federal judiciary would be checked if the other branches of the government would assert their *co-ordinate power*. When the judiciary encroaches, the executive should refuse to recognize its decisions, or to enforce them. This was the method by President Jackson when the Supreme Court of the United States undertook to coerce the State of Georgia in the matter of the Cherokee Indians. This was also the method adopted by President Lincoln during the Civil War, when, as he thought, the Supreme Court was encroaching upon the executive.

General Jackson, in a message to Congress, vetoing the bill for the rechartering of the Bank of the United States, said: "It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate and the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress over the judges; and on that point the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve."

It is extremely significant that in the quotations made from these ancient records there is no reference made to any court except the Supreme Court of the United States. Not until our own day, when corporations have filled the benches with judges who were once corporation lawyers, did the lower federal judiciary advance the monstrous proposition that in every lower court of the Union there resides the power to reduce a state to the proposition of a helpless suitor at the instance of

any corporation, or any non-resident suitor, who wishes to combat the legislative or executive action of a sovereign state.

WHAT IS THE HISTORICAL AND LEGAL MEANING OF
CONFISCATION?

It is one of the fundamental rights of a citizen of this country, and of all other civilized countries, that he should not be deprived of life, or property without due process of law.

Therefore, one's property cannot be confiscated by mere act of the Legislature any more than he can be sent to the penitentiary by Act of Congress, or condemned to death on the "joint resolution of the House and Senate."

The State may demand your property, your liberty, or your life, and compel you to surrender them, but the demand must be made in the manner prescribed by law.

If a corporation wants your land for a railroad track, a canal, or for terminal facilities, there is a way provided by which you can be forced to sell, no matter how strongly you may object. Then again, if you violate the criminal laws, and have no special "pull" with any of the authorities, you may be arrested, tried, and convicted, and thus, in a regular and orderly manner, deprived of your liberty. Likewise, you may be deprived of your life by being conscripted into the military service during war times, or by being sent to the gallows, after legal sentence, during times of peace.

So far, it all seems very simple. But if you want to see the water get muddy, just turn the corporation lawyers loose in the creek.

When *we* say that a citizen shall not be deprived of his property without due process of law, *our* meaning is clear enough to all sensible people. We mean just what we say,—no more and no less. We mean that your horse shall not be taken from your stable and sold at public sale to satisfy your debts, until a due process of law has authorized an officer to make the sale; we mean that you shall not be turned out of the house and home until there is some kind of legal warrant for this ejection; that your store-house shall not be closed up, your saw-mill shut down, your bank thrown into the hands of a receiver, until there has been taken against you those preliminary steps prescribed by statute, and usually known as "due process of law."

But the corporation lawyer has been incubating upon this question, as upon many others, and he has hatched a new doctrine, altogether. According to the corporation lawyer, *the capital invested in a railroad is always entitled to earn a profit*, and when the legislative branch of the Government makes a

law which cuts off the net profit of a railroad, *it has confiscated the railroad!* Consequently, the law is void.

It is difficult for plain people, like you and me, to understand how a corporation lawyer can keep his face straight while making a plea of that kind,—but he does, nevertheless. Many corporation lawyers have faces that have been laboriously cultivated for many years, and which are warranted to keep straight under the most trying circumstances.

TEACHING THE PARROT TO SAY THE WORD.

This "*Confiscatory*" nonsense is a case in point. The law means that *the property* of the corporation shall not be taken away from it without due process of law. The law *means* that the corporation shall not be deprived of its road-bed, its depots, its locomotives, its box-cars, its passenger coaches, etc., without legal process first being had against the Company. But the astute, resourceful, and infinitely subtle corporation lawyer has juggled with the plain meaning of the law until he has committed the corporation judges to a doctrine that was never dreamt of until recent years. According to this new doctrine, the Government *confiscates* the entire property when a law is enacted which, according to their showing, will deprive the corporation of net profits.

The merchant may do business for years under conditions which make profits impossible, but *he still has his property*. He doesn't claim that his store-house and his stock of goods have been *confiscated*.

The farmer has been doing business for nearly forty years without net profits. He has barely earned living wages. The statistics gathered and published by the Government show this to be true. Yet the farmer still has his mules, cows, hogs, houses and land; the *title* is in him; the *possession* is his; *he* does not yell "*Confiscation!*"

But the railroad king claims a Divine right to net profits, and he arrogates to himself the power to call a halt upon the Government whenever any legislation threatens those net earnings. He says that the loss of net profits means *his property* has been *confiscated*. He still holds the title to all of his property; he still has possession; he still has the unhampered use of it; but he says *he has been deprived of it, within the meaning of the law, because he cannot make a net profit*. Before we either accept or reject a revolutionary doctrine of this sort, let us carefully consider it.

(1). First of all, *where is the limit* to which such a principle would take us?

It cannot be claimed that railroad investments are the only ones entitled to the benefit of the doctrine.

If capital invested in railroad business is confiscated when deprived of profits, then capital invested in all business is confiscated under like conditions.

If an Act of Congress is null and void *because* it deprives a railroad of net earnings on its property, then any act of any Legislature, *and every act of every municipality* which cuts off net profits is equally confiscatory, and can be set aside. Any special tax or special regulation, which State Legislatures and town councils should impose upon the various kinds of business could be held up, combatted, and set aside upon the specious plea, "*If you compel me to obey that law, I cannot make a profit—therefore, your law is confiscatory.*"

Thus, at every step, the law-making agencies would be reduced to imbecility.

(2). How can any court *intelligently* pass upon such a question?

The corporation lawyer comes before the Judge and proposes to make a demonstration of the fact that if a certain statute is put into operation the railroad cannot earn a dividend.

How can such a demonstration be made satisfactory? How is it *possible* for any lawyer to make such a demonstration?

The conditions of tomorrow may be wholly different from those of today. Prices rise and fall; traffic fluctuates; management changes; *calculations* of the nicest kind are upset by altered *facts*.

The Judge may be able to form a sound opinion, based upon the proven conditions of *today*, but how can the Judge conscientiously decide that if the railroad is compelled to obey any given statute *it will be permanently deprived of a profit?*

Surely, no court would rule that a *temporary* loss of net earnings is tantamount to *confiscation*. Surely the Court would require a showing to the effect that the natural and inevitable consequence of a given statute is to deprive the railroad of its profits *permanently*.

How can it be *possible* to prove such a thing?

(3). Again, how can it be claimed, *reasonably*, that it is the province of a court to pass upon the question of *the proper management of the railroad?*

Where would *that* sort of investigation end?

The corporation lawyer says to the judge, "If that 2 cent passenger rate goes into effect we cannot make a net profit; *therefore*, it is confiscatory."

But the Judge should at least demand to know that the loss of net profit would be due to the imposition of the 2 cent rate and *not* to any error in management. Clearly, the reason-

able attitude of the corporation lawyer, even from his own point of view, should be this: "If we manage the property *in the most business-like way*, we cannot make a profit *because of this 2 cent rate.*"

Now, consider what an *unjudicial* burden that contention puts upon the Court.

Assuming that the Judge is conscientious, there must be a thorough investigation of the system under which the road is operated; also, of the legitimate expenses; also, of the legitimate capitalization.

See what a wilderness at once surrounds the Judge! See what labor of Hercules is thrown upon the Attorney General of the State!

Will it ever be possible for the Court to separate the stock-watering transactions from the honest investments of actual cash?

Never in the world.

In many cases, the books and papers have been destroyed. In other cases, there is no living expert who is both able and willing to dig the truth out of the puzzles of book-keeping. In *every* case, there would be a battle-royal, all along the line, as to what was a watered-stock transaction and what was an honest, legitimate issue of stocks and bonds. Thus, the Court would find itself involved in a running fight that covers decades, *without the remotest chance of being able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.* Besides, the Court would owe it to the country to scrutinize the operating expenses, the fixed charges, and the extra disbursements of the corporation.

Is the property loaded down with the weight of parasites? Do the men who draw the big salaries earn them?

Is the Special Counsel a lobbyist and corruptionist, and if so *should the corporation be allowed the protection of such an expense in its show-up of operating cost?*

How many newspapers are subsidized, and how much of the money goes *that way?*

How much is spent in campaign contributions, and is *that* expense legitimate?

How much is paid to satisfy damage suits, and to what extent do those suits grow out of *mismanagement of the property?*

What kind of traffic arrangement exists *between the railroad and the Express companies*, and to what extent does this arrangement *milk the railroad for the enrichment of the inner clique* which owns the majority stock of the Express companies?

All of these questions are necessarily involved in the case, *provided the Judge is a conscientious man who wants to do his duty.*

This being so, it is easy to realize the utter impossibility of the task of the Court. The corporation lawyers are simply asking the judges to act as parrots for the corporations, and to say "*Confiscatory*" because the corporations will thereby be relieved of public control. They *know* that Courts cannot possibly go into the issues herein referred to, get at the whole truth, and *thus* reach a just question.

(4). When postage was reduced, in Great Britain, from twenty-four cents per letter to four cents, the wise-acres proclaimed the lunacy of the reformers. With one accord the moss-backs prophesied bankruptcy and ruin. All the world knows what happened. Postage being high, few people wrote letters. Postage being cheap, everybody wrote letters. Result: postal receipts grew until the wise-acres were convinced and the reformers gloriously vindicated.

How does anybody know that a 2 cent passenger rate will *not increase travel* to such an extent as to become more profitable to the railroads than was the 3 cent fare?

How can any Court conscientiously assume the role of prophet?

The locomotive frequently pulls half-empty coaches; if we had cheaper rates, the cars might be generally filled; in that case, the lower rate and fuller car would certainly mean increased net earnings:

Any middle-aged man can recall the time when matches were high-priced; they were then carefully hoarded. Now, when they are cheap, every coon carries a box in his pocket.

Quinine, in 1878, was selling at \$3.80 per ounce, because it was monopolized almost entirely by Powers & Weightman, under the protection of a tremendous Tariff duty. At such a price, quinine was to some extent confined to the well-to-do people; to some extent, the poor were deprived of its benefit. In 1879, the Tariff duty was taken off, and quinine went upon the Free List. Immediately, the price dropped; soon it was 65 cents per ounce; and *the consumption of the drug enormously increased.*

So it would *probably* be with passenger travel on railroads.

And the railroad managers ought to know it, for they themselves have seen the never-failing result of granting *Special Rates on certain days.*

The Excursion Train nuisance is based upon this principle. Why not abolish the nuisance and yet apply the principle,—reaping the profit,—by broadening the concession of *Cheap Rates all over the year?*

Then there would be no crush, no riot, no drunken frolic, but a steady, orderly increase of regular travel, *good for the people and good for the railroads.*

Such would be *the probable results* of the cheaper rate, but I am not contending that the Courts should so *decide*. What I *do* contend for is this, *The Courts should not undertake to decide that the cheaper passenger rate would not increase the number of passengers, and thereby increase the earnings of the roads.*

Even as these lines were being written, comes the news from Nebraska that the 2 cent rate which has recently been put in force there *has increased the travel and has increased the net earnings of the roads.*

If later reports should establish the fact that the lower rate *has increased the net earnings*, then the folly of those judges who assume to prophesy *the future effect* of any given law will have been demonstrated beyond question.

The sound position for the Courts to take, even if they construe the word *Confiscate* to mean what the corporation lawyers claim, is this,

"Give the 2 cent rate a fair trial, for a reasonable length of time, and then if it cuts all the profits out of your business, bring before us all the facts. Let us see *how* you are managing. We want to know the name of every man who is on your pay-roll and what he does to earn what you pay him. We want to see where your revenue comes from and where it goes. If you are maintaining parasites, lobbyists, press-agents, boodlers and vote buyers, those unlawful expenditures must be lopped off. If you have been pouring water into your stocks and bonds—look out! We will calculate your right to net profits upon actual value, arrived at by honest, disinterested appraisal of the property, *unless you can prove to my satisfaction what is your actual capitalization.* If there is a huggemugger between your management and the Express companies,—watch out! We won't stand for it. You must compel the Express companies to pay precisely the same rates that other shippers pay. You must clear your skirts of the smell of the foul, lawless, *Rebate.* *Come with clean hands,* and make a clean showing, or we will send you packing."

Suppose the Courts should take that tone, do you suppose the corporations would be insolently demanding that Acts of Congress and of Legislatures be set aside at *their* sovereign pleasure?

Reduced to its literal meaning, this is what the Railroads claim:

"We demand the right to water our stock whenever we get ready. We demand the right to spend millions of dollars every year employing Press Agents and Special Counsel to debauch public men and to mis-guide public opinion. We demand the right to collude with the Express Companies, so that those

robbers who divide among themselves net profits of two hundred per cent. may carry the cream of our business at fancy prices,—the secret being that *the inner clique which controls the Express Company is also the inner clique which controls the railroad.* We demand the right to pay huge salaries to figure-heads and dummies, who pose as officers of the roads when, in fact, *they are used to cloak and conceal actual conditions which the law prohibits.* We demand the right to grant free tickets to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year, for the purpose of keeping on the good side of Congressmen, Legislators, Judges, and other officials, *from whom we seek favors which we ought not to have.* We demand *the right to continue our reckless mismanagement,*—our refusal to adopt safety appliances; our refusal to put road bed and bridges in first-class condition; our refusal to double-track, to abolish the grade-crossing, to adopt the automatic switch, to employ the most competent men and a sufficiency of them;—we demand the right to continue this ruinous policy, *although it results in frightful loss of life and damage suits which cost us an immense amount of money.*

“But we demand all this, nevertheless; and, if a State, or the Nation, tries to save the people from the extortion and the favoritism which we have systematized, we will whoop for our corporation lawyers, who in turn will whistle for our Corporation Judges and *we will block the wheels of government by pleading CONFISCATORY.*

“We will say that unless we are allowed to continue to mismanage our property just as we are now doing, we will lose our *net profits*, and thus *our entire estate will be Confiscated.*

“We will not only *say* this, but will *swear* to it. And while the facts we swear to, in the Plea of ‘Confiscatory,’ *are wholly different from the facts which we swore to when we made our Tax Returns*, still we will perjure ourselves like gentlemen, to maintain a system demanded of us by the Wall Street rascals who won us.”

SECTION 3. Our system of Government consists of wheels within wheels, each wheel turning within its own orbit with a nice appreciation of the fact that it has no business to venture into other orbits than its own. The big wheel of the Federal Government rolls regularly within its appointed sphere, never once straying into the regions where the little wheel, the State, goes round and round in the ordinary monotony of its own existence.

Carved into three separate sections, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial powers of government are scrupulously kept apart in order that neither of these powers of sovereignty shall unite with any other and *thus* make a begin-

ning of Tyranny. The three great powers of government are co-ordinate, equal; and each one must counterbalance the others, else the encroachments of one might weaken the resisting strength of the others, and, in this way, the aggressions of one branch of the Government lead, *through unresisted usurpations*, to a change in the system which would amount to *Revolution*.

So keenly alive to this danger was President Jefferson, that he defied the Supreme Court of the United States when Chief Justice Marshall attempted to encroach upon the Executive.

So keenly alive to this danger was the State of Georgia and President Jackson, that the Supreme Court of the United States was again defied when it sought to coerce the State during the days of Governor Troup.

President Lincoln, in like manner, treated with contempt the decrees of the Supreme Court when it sought to hamper the Executive during his administration.

In theory, the very life of the Republic depends upon the maintenance of the just and equal balance of power between the States and the Federal Government, and between the Executive, Judicial and Legislative departments.

But what are the facts!

- Not only has the Federal Judiciary usurped power at the expense of the Federal Government—making Congress and the President ridiculous—but it has arrogated to itself the power to reduce the States of the Union to a mere lot of naughty children *who must be called up and birched in public*, whenever corporation lawyers combine to nullify the laws of the State to *whose charter their client owes its life*.

The astounding spectacle is presented of nearly one-half of the States of the Union challenged in their right to regulate their domestic concerns, halted by injunctions, rendered powerless to perform their constitutional functions, by corporation lawyers who have tempted Federal Judges to add another province to the broad dominions which they have already invaded and conquered.

What sort of chance for adoption would the Constitution of 1787 have had in New York and Virginia, if Alexander Hamilton and James Madison had admitted that the sovereign States could at any time be made the victims of corporation greed and reduced, at the whim of corporation lawyers, to the attitude of supplicants, *humbly pleading before a Federal Judge for the privilege of enforcing their own laws?*

IS THIS GOVERNMENT "OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE?"

To this shameful degradation have the States been brought down. Federal Judges, who were corporation lawyers before they became Judges, are halting the sovereign States, reducing them to the station of mere private trespassers, and retaining them, by ever ready injunctions, from the exercise of governmental powers. Insolent corporations and usurping judiciary are moving step by step to a situation which a free people cannot endure. Sooner or later, some State, bullied, badgered and enjoined beyond the limits of human forbearance, *will demand of its Governor the same stubborn courage which in George M. Troup sternly warned the Federal Government and hotly defied the Federal Courts!*

Here of late, we have the rapid growth of a legal doctrine never before heard of anywhere on this earth. Ingenious corporation lawyers have made the discovery that the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution were not so much concerned about the Negro, after all. Historians, politicians, publicists, have all been laboring under grievous error: the very Legislatures which adopted that Amendment did not understand what they were about. The ingenious and inexhaustibly fertile corporation lawyer has discovered that the Negro was not the subject matter of that Amendment. Congress had in mind the corporation, not the Negro, and when Congress threw around the recently freed slave the protection of the old Saxon principle that no freeman should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, the legislative intent was, not to prevent angry Southern States from oppressing the Negro, but to safeguard the corporation in its greed for dividends!

Upon this false foundation, has been reared the monstrous doctrine that *if state-laws deprive corporations of net profits the corporation and all of its property has been Confiscated!*

Thus, the Fourteenth Amendment, which had no other purpose than the protection of the Negro in his rights as a free man, is being prostituted to give immunity to lawless corporation plunderers; and the principle, older than *Magna Charta*, that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law" has been wrenched and stretched until the servile Corporation Judges, who take their opinions from the corporation lawyers, have held it to mean that *money invested in public service corporations is entitled to earn net profits regardless of public necessity, private conditions, or any other consideration.*

What is it that gives such especial sanctity to money invested in railroads, gas companies, telegraph and telephones?

From what source do the corporation lawyers derive the doctrine that corporate investments are entitled, as a matter of constitutional right, to net earnings *at all times and under all circumstances*?

The modern plea of "*Confiscatory*" paralyzes the State and *nullifies the law*:—let us examine into its origin.

When William the Conqueror had made good his mastery of England, he thought to perpetuate his power by so intrenching his Norman followers, in wealth and privilege, that the King and his nobles would never meet with serious difficulty in ruling their conquest. With mailed hand the Conqueror beat down all opposition to his will, and by sweeping confiscations of English estates he rewarded his own partisans.

There ensued in England *a government of unlimited royal prerogative*. The will of the subject people counted for nothing. They had no expressed will. They had no rights. The Norman ruled because he had won the land with his sword; and he ruled it by the law of his own pleasure. Englishmen were stripped of their property, cast into prison, put to death, without the slightest reference to customs, laws or procedures which had prevailed prior to the Norman Conquest.

Hallam, the Historian, states (see "Middle Ages," Part II, Chap. VI), that "in twenty years from the accession of William, almost the whole soil of England had been divided among foreigners."

The Saxon Chronicle, states, "God sees the wretched people most unjustly oppressed; first they are despoiled of their possessions, then butchered."

Aubrey, in the "Rise and Growth of the English People" says, (Vol. 1, Chap. IX.)

" * * * The Common people were subject to the rule—often a merciless despotism—of their feudal lords. The land was still dotted with castles at every ford and bridge; at the intersection of great roads; and on every commanding point. These castles * * * were the abodes of men who exercised criminal jurisdiction from which, practically, there was no appeal, and who immured obnoxious persons, in default of paying heavy and arbitrary fees, tolls and fines, in their private dungeons, or left them to swing and rot on their private gallows."

These citations sufficiently show what were the evils inflicted upon the English people of that day. The Norman King and the feudal lords paid no regard to those rights and liberties which the Saxons had formerly enjoyed. *Arbitrary* oppression, costing life, liberty, property, took the place of *the*

customary law and order, under whose protection the English subject had been measurably secure.

Against Norman King and noble, the Englishman could set up no legal barrier which was respected. Might made right, and the lust of the tyrant glutted itself upon the weak, without let or hindrance.

Often the English rebelled; as often they were put down, and oppressed anew. But in the course of time there were divisions among the Normans themselves. The crown was often the stake of battle. Norman nobles, caught on the losing side, suffered outlawry and confiscation, just as the English had done.

THE "CONFISCATORY" JUDGE.

In the reign of Stephen, England was almost in a state of anarchy; and when order was restored, under the Angevin dynasty, it was found that royal prerogative bore with equal harshness upon Normans and English alike.

Under King John, who was weak and cowardly as well as vicious and tyrannical, the situation became unbearable. The Norman nobles, making common cause with the English, set up the standard of revolt. Left without support, the King, had to give way, and he signed (June, 1215), *The Great Charter*, which was little more than the definite statement of the old Saxon liberties.

The rebels were not innovators. They were restorers. They simply demanded that Norman Kings should govern the country in accordance with the law in force at the time of the Norman invasion. In other words, the English demanded the recognition of their ancient rights and liberties. In *Magna Charta* these were reduced to writing, and the King pledged to respect them. Upon that condition, he kept his crown. Thus, *absolute monarchy* became *limited monarchy*. A government of *royal prerogative* gave place to a government by *constitutional limitations*. Pledging himself, the King said,

"No freeman shall be *taken*, or *imprisoned*, or *disseized* * * * unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

When these historical facts are borne in mind, we can better realize the immense impudence of the modern corporation lawyer who has succeeded in making this language mean that "*money invested in corporate enterprise has an inviolable right to earn net profits.*"

Those Federal Judges who have sustained the absurd doctrine that a State law is *Confiscatory* because it deprives a corporation of *net profits*, not only bid farewell to common sense, but ignore historical origins, defy legislative intent, and

degrade sovereign States in a manner which no other civilized people would tolerate.

Never before in the history of the world has *Property* dared to say to a *Government*, *GIVE ME NET PROFITS OR I WILL SET ASIDE YOUR LAWS!*

No other class of property *now* dares to set up such an arrogant claim excepting *corporate* property.

The fact that corporations, alone, have the hardihood to make such a plea, and to make it successfully, is the most astounding proof of the reality of corporation encroachment.

THE OPEN ROAD.

In the beginning, it required *the energy of the individual* to make a good public road.

Therefore, charters were granted to companies of enterprising citizens who were willing to invest their money in the building of good roads and bridges.

Under this dispensation, we had the Turnpike and the Toll Gate. The road was a closed road. Only those who paid the fixed charges could go through the gate or cross the bridge.

Every Toll Gate had its keeper, and its scale of charges,—so much for each traveler; so much for each vehicle. Who does not recall, with a sweet, Bob Taylor smile, the story of the Gate Keeper who was suddenly called upon for a statement of the rates by two self-reliant young women from the backwoods,—their vehicle being a one-horse rattle-trap drawn by a sad-eyed sorrel? “What’s the charge?” hailed the travelers. As he swung the gate open, the Gate Keeper answered, nonchalantly, “Fifty cents for a man, and twenty-five cents for a horse.”

“Well, *we* pass free then,” sang out the rural ladies, “for this turnout is just two gals and a mare. Git up, Nance!”—clucking to the horse.

Before the dumb-founded official could think of a suitable reply to the argument the gals and the old mare had passed serenely on.

These closed roads, or Turnpikes, were never popular. They violated the universal, instinctive longing for “the open road.” They were felt to impose restraints upon that freedom of movement which has always been a portion of the personal liberty of the individual.

Consequently, there was constant friction between the traveling public and the officials of the Turnpikes. This antagonism often cropped out in the establishment of a parallel road, roughly laid out and badly maintained, which gave the poorer people an outlet to market, free of charge. These roads

having been built for the purpose of securing an escape from the tolls which had to be paid on the 'Pike, were sometimes known as "Shun-pikes." In the mountainous regions of Virginia, you will find many of such roads, known to this day by the old name of "*the shun-pike*." They are monuments to the determination of the traveling public to have an open road.

In the course of time the Turnpike went to join the flint and steel musket, and the highway free to all—the lord and the yeoman, the prince and the pauper, the sage and the simpleton,—became the universal rule.

Then came that other step in human progress, the iron highway. Here, again, individual energy and enterprise were necessary. It may be doubted whether any government would ever have evolved our modern system of railroads. The initiative of mankind, collectively, is always less than the initiative of individuals and of small, compact groups. To the development of our railroad system, we think that individual initiative was absolutely necessary. The task was so gigantic, the obstacles to be overcome were so varied and so immense, that *individual selfishness*, as a factor in the success which finally won, cannot be over-estimated.

After the individuals have shown the way, governments may safely follow; just as a very commonplace sculptor can chisel you out a fair copy of a piece of statuary which he could no more have originated than he could fly.

In view of these admissions, we are not inclined to waste time quarreling over the liberality of Congress and the State Legislatures to the corporations which offered to build our railways, although these governmental grants were too lavish, and were often obtained by fraud and corruption. When we remember that the private individuals who constructed railroads in Florida got 7,000 acres of land for every mile of road, we readily agree that the grant was excessive. In Arkansas, the corporations got 3,900 acres of land for every mile of railroad; in Alabama, 3,385 acres; in Louisiana, 7,000 acres; in Wisconsin, 5,400 acres. Even in Illinois they got 1,965 acres of land for every mile of road.

In donations of one sort and another—land-grants, cash subscriptions, bond-endorsements, special exemptions and privileges—the public paid every dollar of the actual cost of building the iron highways,—*the modern Turnpikes*.

But while it may have been wise and necessary, forty years ago, to stimulate individual enterprise to undertake the toil and the risk of building the railway lines,—just as it may have been wise and necessary to grant the Turnpike charters,—the time has come when we must have *the open road*. The natural, irresistible pressure of the traveling public against the Toll-

sion, through Federal Courts and Receivers, ran the roads with complete success and then, after having demonstrated that the Government could operate the railroads, allowed a Wall Street banker, Jake Schiff, to step in and gobble up this magnificent transcontinental highway, *for a song*. The Nation had paid for it; the private corporations had looted it; the Nation then had to take charge of it and manage it, and even then Uncle Sam didn't have sense enough to keep it.

In what way Jake Schiff managed to get his greedy paws on it, may be more easily imagined than described. The Credit Mobilier scandals had revealed the methods of Huntington & Co. Those methods probably answered the purposes of Jake Schiff as they had answered those of Huntington.

At all events, Schniff's firm scooped the Union Pacific Railroad, over which the great Harriman now rules with despotic and malevolent sway.

Concerning the Governmental favors extended to the Pacific Railroads, there is in existence an official report, which has become a rare Public Document.

This Report was submitted to Congress by President Cleveland, January, 1888. Accompanying this general report of the Pacific Railway Commission, there is a special report of a special commissioner, Robert E. Pattison. It is this document which is particularly interesting and instructive.

Let the reader bear in mind that we quote now from the official record, endorsed by President Cleveland,—not from stump speech, partisan editorial or magazine article.

Summarizing the facts, as stated by United States Commissioner Pattison, we find that the public aid given to the Pacific Railway Companies amounted to a total of \$447,729,470.54. When he Commissioner made this estimate (1887) the corporations still had unsold land to the amount of 12,615,087 acres. Upon this realty the Commissioner placed a valuation of \$26,054,270,—or a little more than \$2.00 per acre. Since then, lands have advanced in value. Since then, forest timber has enormously increased in value. Since then, coal and other mineral deposits have been found upon these lands. Since then villages, towns, and even small cities have been built, and are now standing, on the railroads' land. Just what the land-grant, yet remaining in the hands of the corporation, is worth, no one can tell. The moderate assumption is that the twelve million acres which Commissioner Pattison estimated at twenty-six million dollars, yielded the railroads many times that sum.

The Union Pacific was built for \$38,824,000; yet the builders capitalized the road for \$109,814,812—thus pocketing the

proceeds of fictitious stock and bonds to the amount of \$70,990,812.

The builders dealt with themselves, acting in one capacity, with themselves, acting in another capacity,—just as more recent scoundrels have done in corporation juggles,—with the result that they charged up against the Union Pacific Railroad, as cost of construction, \$109,814,812, when the actual cost was but \$38,824,000.

In the Central Pacific and Western Pacific the fictitious capital was \$84,211,680. In the Kansas Pacific, \$13,228,250.

Thus it will be seen that private capitalists not only did not put up the money which built these transcontinental lines, but that public funds did the work. The promoters spent none of their own cash, but on the other hand, got enough from the public to build the roads and to make themselves immensely rich.

Commissioner Pattison, after referring to the fact that Congress, in being liberal to the Pacific Railway Companies, had meant to promote the public interest and had made the companies trustees for that purpose, proceeds to say: "The public interest has been subordinated to the stockholding interest. Nearly every obligation which these corporations assumed under the laws of the United States, or as common carriers, has been violated. *Their management has been a national disgrace.*"

The Commissioner enters into the details which sustain his arraignment of the companies, but space-limit forbids us to follow his amazing revelations of greed, dishonesty, and tyranny.

Only one other paragraph we quote: "They chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided among themselves \$172,347,115 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the Government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year, to pay for the inflation of capital of these companies, and for the civic practices that crept into their management."

One of the most interesting and important statements made by the Commissioner is that "The Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific (aided portion) could have been built for \$17,021,488 in addition to the Government loan, all debts could have been paid, including the Government debt, and from the profits of operating the roads and from the land sales the stock could have paid regular dividends of 6 per cent."

The reader is asked to recall the fact that the sum total of public donations to this group of Pacific railways was in

sion, through Federal Courts and Receivers, ran the roads with complete success and then, after having demonstrated that the Government could operate the railroads, allowed a Wall Street banker, Jake Schiff, to step in and gobble up this magnificent transcontinental highway, *for a song*. The Nation had paid for it; the private corporations had looted it; the Nation then had to take charge of it and manage it, and even then Uncle Sam didn't have sense enough to keep it.

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Union,—one District Court deciding a question one way, and another District Court deciding the same question another way—an example of which was furnished by the conflicting decisions of the lower Federal courts upon the Federal Employees' Liability Act.

An adage as old as government itself declares that, *the King shall not be sued by the subject without his own consent*. The states being sovereign,—except to the extent that they have delegated certain powers to the Federal Government,—naturally assume that they would be protected from the suits of private citizens by virtue of the time-honored principle cited.

In the old Confederation, no person, natural or artificial, could have entered suit against one of the sovereign states. After the Union was formed, one Chisholm, being a citizen of the United States but not of the State of Georgia, entered suit against that State. Chief Justice Marshall held that the State was sueable by the private citizen of another state. This position outraged every member of the Union to such an extent that an amendment to the Constitution was at once proposed and adopted *for the purpose of preventing future infractions of state rights*. This is the Eleventh Amendment. During recent years, however, *the Federal Judges, high and low, have nullified the Eleventh Amendment*, and have constantly taken jurisdiction in suits brought by private persons and corporations against the sovereign states of the Union. Governors, Attorney-General, Sheriffs, and other officials of the state, are sued, enjoined in their official capacities, and thus the entire state administration is brought to a stand-still, and then dragged into court, like an ordinary defendant, to appear and plead in answer to the suit of a non-resident corporation or private individual. *The Federal courts solemnly declare that a suit which enjoins the state government and prevents the state officials from acting in their official capacities is not a suit against the state.*

The historic origin of the legal adage that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, must be understood before one can fully appreciate the startling evolution of that principle which has occurred during recent years.

When William the Norman invaded and conquered England, he set up a government of unlimited royal prerogative. As against their Norman masters, Englishmen had almost no rights. In the History of the Middle Ages, Hallam says that in twenty years after the accession of William the Conqueror, almost the whole soil of England had been taken from the English and divided among the foreigners. The Saxon chronicle states: "God sees the wretched people most unjustly

round numbers, \$447,000,000; that the cost of construction was very much less than this amount; that wreckers got hold of the property and ran it into the hands of U. S. Court Receivers; that Jake Schiff was allowed to capture the prize and in due course of time to place his man Harriman at the head of the transcontinental highway which public money had built.

Just how much Schiff paid for possession, and exactly how the deal was engineered, is not generally understood, but the accepted statement is that he bought the property by assuming a part of the debt which the companies owed the Government, and that *he paid practically no cash at all*. In other words, the public bought the transcontinental line once more and once more gave it to a gang of rapacious, dishonest and tyrannical plunderers,—for every dollar that Schiff and his associates paid was wrung out of the public in freight rates, passenger charges, stock issues and bond juggles. In the history of governmental stupidity, there is nothing which surpasses the record of our dealings with the Pacific Railroads.

We have paid five times as much as was necessary to secure for the public a transcontinental highway, and we haven't got one yet. As fast as we, the people, pay for the road, we, the people, donate it to private corporations. If those in authority did not take so much pains to convince us that we are the most intelligent people under the sun, we might sometimes vaguely suspect that we are the biggest fools in the universe.

In the Federal courts, as now conducted, we find the following monstrous inconsistency. The Judges say, with one accord, that the Federal courts are controlled by *the construction* which is placed upon the state law by the state courts, and yet these same Judges claim the right to *annul the law*. This is absurd on the face of it. The inconsistency is to be explained in only one way. The rule which requires the Federal courts to be bound by *the construction* placed upon a state law by the state courts, arose during the early period of our Government, when the Judiciary Act of 1789 was still respected. Federal Judges of lower courts not only accepted the construction which state courts placed upon the state laws, but accepted *the laws themselves*, until they had been declared unconstitutional by the state courts, or *by the Supreme Court of the United States*.

Never, until the Civil War had ended and the Federal courts began to be filled up with corporation lawyers, did the lower Federal courts arrogate to themselves jurisdiction over state laws which had never been assailed in the state courts.

Not only does this usurpation of power by the lower Federal courts impair the dignity of the state and frequently paralyze the state in the conduct of its domestic concerns, but the inevitable result is the conflict of decisions throughout the

Union,—one District Court deciding a question one way, and another District Court deciding the same question another way—an example of which was furnished by the conflicting decisions of the lower Federal courts upon the Federal Employees' Liability Act.

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Students of history are familiar with the dissensions which broke out among the conquerors, and with that slow but steady process by which the common people won back their feudal rights.

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This meant that absolute monarchy had been brought to an end, and a limited monarchy submitted, in *which the royal prerogative was to give way to a government of constitutional limitations.*

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Here we have the historic origin. It all seems plain and simple enough, and yet, with endless ingenuity and audacity, the attorneys of corporations have construed this legal precept to mean that *money invested in corporate enterprise has an inviolable right to earn net profits.* The Federal Judges have actually sustained this absurd doctrine, and so thoroughly will have the corporation lawyers done their work that most of the attorneys who represent the states in cases of this sort, *concede that unless the corporation is allowed to earn net profits, the property of the corporation is confiscated within the meaning of that constitutional clause which comes from Magna Charta.*

With the earning of dividends, the law has nothing whatever to do. The plain meaning of the constitutional provision which has come down to us from

Magna Charta is, that a corporation stands upon exactly the same footing as a natural person, in that it shall not be deprived of its title to its property and the property itself, *without due process of law*. In the case of a railroad, it shall not be deprived of its roadbed, its depots, its locomotives, its box cars, its passenger coaches, etc., etc., without legal process first being had against the company. If the State should pass a law which would make it impossible for the corporation to earn reasonable profits upon the money invested, such a law would be *unjust*, and it ought to be repealed; but how can it be said that such a law *confiscates* the roadbed, the rolling stock, and the various other property of the corporation?

In New York it was held, in a certain case, that unless a corporation were allowed to earn 6 per cent. net profits, the law which lowered the earnings below that standard was *confiscatory*, and, therefore, void. *Confiscatory of what?* Can it be claimed that such a law confiscated the title and took away *the property* of the corporation? To support the contention of such Judges, we must construe Magna Charta to mean that *King John and his barons meant to guarantee net profits to property-holders*. Could anything be more absurd? When a railroad or other corporation sets up a plea of that sort, it takes this position: "We demand that the money invested in corporations be given special privileges, not enjoyed by money invested in private estates or in non-corporate business. We demand the right to manage our corporation affairs to suit ourselves, to pay as much in salaries as we think fit, to pour as much water into the stock as we please, to squander as much on lobbyists, press agents, and special counsel as we think proper; to grant whatever rebates we may think expedient and to make such traffic arrangements with the Express companies as allow those horse-leeches to absorb the cream of our business,—and yet to earn net profits of 6 per cent., else we will block the wheels of state government, tie the hands of state officers, and ignore the laws enacted by state legislatures."

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THE PAYMASTER USURPS THE THRONE OF PATRIOTISM.

In like manner, the interests of the private individuals who now monopolize the iron turnpikes must yield to public necessity. If they are wise in their generation, they will recognize the inevitable and bow to it. Nobody seeks to do them injustice. Their interests must be bought out in a fair, legal, peaceful manner,—but the public must have "the open road." It is intolerable that the highways of the mightiest Republic the world has ever seen should be closed to the people by the chiefs of six great corporations. It is unendurable that eighty-five millions of people should have the toll-gate and turnpike principle fastened upon them in perpetuity.

The natural evolution which first brought forth the improved highway, the Turnpike, and which then cleared it of the Toll Gate—opening it up to the use of the public as a Public Road,—will move right on in its inexorable march, *until the iron highway is also a public road.*

Politicians may shuffle and dodge, corporation managers may bribe and bulldoze, but they can no more arrest the progress of the demand for *the open road* than they can halt the law of gravitation.

THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL HIGHWAY.

It was the Lewis and Clarke expedition, sent out by the Government at the instance of President Jefferson, that first located practicable routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The work of Pathfinder Fremont was built upon this Jeffersonian foundation. Next came the scientific surveys, ordered and supervised by Jefferson Davis, when he was Secretary of war, in the Cabinet of President Pierce.

Full historic credit has been given to Thomas Jefferson, to Lewis and Clarke, and to John C. Fremont, but, so far as we know, the highly important work of Jefferson Davis in actually surveying and scientifically locating the practicable lines along which the Pacific Railways were afterwards built has never been recognized.

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In a letter written to William C. Dawson in 1835, Mr. Calhoun not only advocates most earnestly the use of this public money in the building of railroads, but urges the States of Georgia and South Carolina to take the lead, and describes the routes which should be adopted—routes which have since been seized, and held, by private enterprises.

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In this prosy year 1907, when Mr. Roosevelt stops at Governmental supervision of the privately owned railroads, and when Mr. Bryan's hedging attitude on "ultimate governmental ownership" would seem to put his platform where the angel Gabriel will use it for a foot-rest when he blows his horn, it is interesting to learn that Calhoun was exerting his utmost influence in 1835, to have Georgia and South Carolina unite and build a system of trunk lines from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River.

To what extent the scientific survey made under the orders of Jefferson Davis may have been related to the scheme for Pacific Railways afterwards fathered by Stephen A. Douglas, we are not able to state. These practicable routes had been mapped out but a short while before we find "the Little Giant" introducing into Congress the first of all the land-grant bills which transferred to the Pacific Railway corporations such vast amounts of the public domain. The Democratic party had already committed itself to the policy of donating to the corporations by the passage of the Stephen A. Douglas bill of 1850, which granted to the Illinois Central Railroad public domain lying in that State.

The original Pacific Railway bill, introduced by Mr. Douglas, did not become a law; but, in July, 1862, Congress passed another bill of the same kind which is perhaps the most complete surrender that the National Government had made to the greedy plunderers, *up to that time*.

In the sum and substance, the Pacific Railroad corporations were given, first and last, more than enough land and money to pay the entire cost of the roads, enough besides to create the colossal fortunes of Stanford, Huntington, Crocker and Hopkins, and enough besides to now build another system of railways from sea to sea.

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sion, through Federal Courts and Receivers, ran the roads with complete success and then, after having demonstrated that the Government could operate the railroads, allowed a Wall Street banker, Jake Schiff, to step in and gobble up this magnificent transcontinental highway, *for a song*. The Nation had paid for it; the private corporations had looted it; the Nation then had to take charge of it and manage it, and even then Uncle Sam didn't have sense enough to keep it.

In what way Jake Schiff managed to get his greedy paws on it, may be more easily imagined than described. The Credit Mobilier scandals had revealed the methods of Huntington & Co. Those methods probably answered the purposes of Jake Schiff as they had answered those of Huntington.

At all events, Schniff's firm scooped the Union Pacific Railroad, over which the great Harriman now rules with despotic and malevolent sway.

Concerning the Governmental favors extended to the Pacific Railroads, there is in existence an official report, which has become a rare Public Document.

This Report was submitted to Congress by President Cleveland, January, 1888. Accompanying this general report of the Pacific Railway Commission, there is a special report of a special commissioner, Robert E. Pattison. It is this document which is particularly interesting and instructive.

Let the reader bear in mind that we quote now from the official record, endorsed by President Cleveland,—not from stump speech, partisan editorial or magazine article.

Summarizing the facts, as stated by United States Commissioner Pattison, we find that the public aid given to the Pacific Railway Companies amounted to a total of \$447,729,470.54. When he Commissioner made this estimate (1887) the corporations still had unsold land to the amount of 12,615,087 acres. Upon this realty the Commissioner placed a valuation of \$26,054,270,—or a little more than \$2.00 per acre. Since then, lands have advanced in value. Since then, forest timber has enormously increased in value. Since then, coal and other mineral deposits have been found upon these lands. Since then villages, towns, and even small cities have been built, and are now standing, on the railroads' land. Just what the land-grant, yet remaining in the hands of the corporation, is worth, no one can tell. The moderate assumption is that the twelve million acres which Commissioner Pattison estimated at twenty-six million dollars, yielded the railroads many times that sum.

The Union Pacific was built for \$38,824,000; yet the builders capitalized the road for \$109,814,812—thus pocketing the

proceeds of fictitious stock and bonds to the amount of \$70,-990,812.

The builders dealt with themselves, acting in one capacity, with themselves, acting in another capacity,—just as more recent scoundrels have done in corporation juggles,—with the result that they charged up against the Union Pacific Railroad, as cost of construction, \$109,814,812, when the actual cost was but \$38,824,000.

In the Central Pacific and Western Pacific the fictitious capital was \$84,211,680. In the Kansas Pacific, \$13,228,250.

Thus it will be seen that private capitalists not only did not put up the money which built these transcontinental lines, but that public funds did the work. The promoters spent none of their own cash, but on the other hand, got enough from the public to build the roads and to make themselves immensely rich.

Commissioner Pattison, after referring to the fact that Congress, in being liberal to the Pacific Railway Companies, had meant to promote the public interest and had made the companies trustees for that purpose, proceeds to say: "The public interest has been subordinated to the stockholding interest. Nearly every obligation which these corporations assumed under the laws of the United States, or as common carriers, has been violated. *Their management has been a national disgrace.*"

The Commissioner enters into the details which sustain his arraignment of the companies, but space-limit forbids us to follow his amazing revelations of greed, dishonesty, and tyranny.

Only one other paragraph we quote: "They chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided among themselves \$172,347,115 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the Government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year, to pay for the inflation of capital of these companies, and for the civic practices that crept into their management."

One of the most interesting and important statements made by the Commissioner is that "The Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific (aided portion) could have been built for \$17,-021,488 in addition to the Government loan, all debts could have been paid, including the Government debt, and from the profits of operating the roads and from the land sales the stock could have paid regular dividends of 6 per cent."

The reader is asked to recall the fact that the sum total of public donations to this group of Pacific railways was in

round numbers, \$447,000,000; that the cost of construction was very much less than this amount; that wreckers got hold of the property and ran it into the hands of U. S. Court Receivers; that Jake Schiff was allowed to capture the prize and in due course of time to place his man Harriman at the head of the transcontinental highway which public money had built.

Just how much Schiff paid for possession, and exactly how the deal was engineered, is not generally understood, but the accepted statement is that he bought the property by assuming a part of the debt which the companies owed the Government, and that *he paid practically no cash at all*. In other words, the public bought the transcontinental line once more and once more gave it to a gang of rapacious, dishonest and tyrannical plunderers,—for every dollar that Schiff and his associates paid was wrung out of the public in freight rates, passenger charges, stock issues and bond juggles. In the history of governmental stupidity, there is nothing which surpasses the record of our dealings with the Pacific Railroads.

We have paid five times as much as was necessary to secure for the public a transcontinental highway, and we haven't got one yet. As fast as we, the people, pay for the road, we, the people, donate it to private corporations. If those in authority did not take so much pains to convince us that we are the most intelligent people under the sun, we might sometimes vaguely suspect that we are the biggest fools in the universe.

In the Federal courts, as now conducted, we find the following monstrous inconsistency. The Judges say, with one accord, that the Federal courts are controlled by *the construction* which is placed upon the state law by the state courts, and yet these same Judges claim the right to *annul the law*. This is absurd on the face of it. The inconsistency is to be explained in only one way. The rule which requires the Federal courts to be bound by *the construction* placed upon a state law by the state courts, arose during the early period of our Government, when the Judiciary Act of 1789 was still respected. Federal Judges of lower courts not only accepted the construction which state courts placed upon the state laws, but accepted *the laws themselves*, until they had been declared unconstitutional by the state courts, or *by the Supreme Court of the United States*.

Never, until the Civil War had ended and the Federal courts began to be filled up with corporation lawyers, did the lower Federal courts arrogate to themselves jurisdiction over state laws which had never been assailed in the state courts.

Not only does this usurpation of power by the lower Federal courts impair the dignity of the state and frequently paralyze the state in the conduct of its domestic concerns, but the inevitable result is the conflict of decisions throughout the

Union,—one District Court deciding a question one way, and another District Court deciding the same question another way—an example of which was furnished by the conflicting decisions of the lower Federal courts upon the Federal Employees' Liability Act.

An adage as old as government itself declares that, *the King shall not be sued by the subject without his own consent*. The states being sovereign,—except to the extent that they have delegated certain powers to the Federal Government,—naturally assume that they would be protected from the suits of private citizens by virtue of the time-honored principle cited.

In the old Confederation, no person, natural or artificial, could have entered suit against one of the sovereign states. After the Union was formed, one Chisholm, being a citizen of the United States but not of the State of Georgia, entered suit against that State. Chief Justice Marshall held that the State was sueable by the private citizen of another state. This position outraged every member of the Union to such an extent that an amendment to the Constitution was at once proposed and adopted *for the purpose of preventing future infractions of state rights*. This is the Eleventh Amendment. During recent years, however, *the Federal Judges, high and low, have nullified the Eleventh Amendment*, and have constantly taken jurisdiction in suits brought by private persons and corporations against the sovereign states of the Union. Governors, Attorney-General, Sheriffs, and other officials of the state, are sued, enjoined in their official capacities, and thus the entire state administration is brought to a stand-still, and then dragged into court, like an ordinary defendant, to appear and plead in answer to the suit of a non-resident corporation or private individual. *The Federal courts solemnly declare that a suit which enjoins the state government and prevents the state officials from acting in their official capacities is not a suit against the state.*

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Another case was furnished in the 80-cent gas fight in New York. It was held that the property of the Gas Trust would

be confiscated if they were compelled to furnish New York with 80-cent gas. It afterwards transpired that the Gas Trust had "cooked up" a statement to suit itself, to impose on the Judge (as was inevitable), and that the real books of accounts were never produced at all. These would have shown that the corporation could have made a splendid profit on 65-cent gas.

The point I make, however, is that the old adage which we derived from Magna Charta, and which, of course, is very much older than that instrument, has been outrageously perverted *when it is used by the courts to guarantee net profits to corporate investments*, no matter how bad may be the management of such corporations, no matter how much fictitious capitalization may be covered up in their securities, no matter how much of the yearly revenue may be squandered, no matter how the business of the corporation may be affected by prevailing conditions from which all business suffers, and no matter how great may be the necessities of the state which seeks to derive some support from those corporations which the state has itself brought into life by its grant of charters.

According to the decisions, a corporation earning 6 per cent. is in full enjoyment of its title and in full possession of its property; but if the state enacts legislation which reduces the profits to 5 per cent., the corporation's title and property have been confiscated!

The corporation may be earning 3 per cent., 4 per cent., 5 per cent., or 5 3-4 per cent.,—but because the law does not allow it to earn 6 per cent., *it has lost its property by confiscation.*

Apparently, it has been forgotten that the separate States were independent sovereignties; that they were never even connected by any permanent bond of union in the Colonial period; that they maintained their separate existence, one having no right whatever to interfere with the internal concerns of another; that they loosely confederated themselves together during the Revolutionary War, the executive power being vested in a Committee; that when Great Britain recognized their independence, each one was named separately, and the independence of each one separately acknowledged; that each State, acting apart from the others, elected representatives to a Constitutional Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation; and that when these representatives, (binding themselves by a solemn oath of secrecy, and deliberating behind closed doors,) adopted an entirely new Constitution, *that Constitution was ratified by the separate act of each one of the States.* Never did the people, *ACTING NATIONALLY*, authorize a *Constitutional Convention for this Republic.* Never did the people, *acting nationally*, ratify and adopt a Constitution for this Republic. The phrase which Webster misconstrued, and which

the nationalists now misconstrue, "*We the people*", was, in the original draft of the Constitution, followed by the words, "*of the States of*"—naming each separate State whose independence Great Britain had acknowledged. It was the amanuensis, copying out the work of the Constitution, who omitted the names of the States,—the Fathers themselves, having no conception of the misuse which would afterwards be made of those three words.

Time and again in *The Federalist*, written by Alexander Hamilton, a nationalist, John Jay, a nationalist, and Madison, a Republican, the word "*compact*" is used; and the Constitution itself shows that *the States were simply parting with a definite portion of their sovereign powers in order that there might be a central government to deal with such matters as foreign commerce, and the regulation of a national currency.*

The judicial power was grudgingly granted by the States to the Federal government, and the limits of its jurisdiction were jealously guarded. In Madison's report, (not published until 1844) it is shown that *every time the proposition was made to give to the Federal Judiciary the right to set aside Acts of Congress, the proposition was voted down.*

As to the manner in which the Federal Judiciary should pass upon State laws, Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention, was thoroughly qualified to express the meaning of the Fathers. *He did so in the Judiciary Act of 1789.* He positively provided that State laws should be attacked on Constitutional grounds *in the State Courts*, from which an appeal should be taken to *the Supreme Court of the United States.* That provision is Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 and it now appears as Section 709 of the Revised Statutes. Its language is as plain as the nose on one's face. **WHERE HAS THAT STATUTE BEEN REPEALED OR MODIFIED?** *It is the law of the land, and ever has been, since the foundations of our Federal judicial system were laid by the Act of 1789. In no other way were State laws challenged prior to the Civil War; these usurpations and encroachments have simply kept pace with the march of colossal corporations. THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY AND THE TRUSTS ARE THE ALLIED ARMIES, MARCHING UPON THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES.*

When the United States Supreme Court had for its Chief Justice John Jay, of New York,—one of the authors of *The Federalist*—he took jurisdiction over a suit which one Chisholm, of Alabama, brought against the State of Georgia. *The*

United States Marshal served process upon Governor Telfair and his Attorney-General: these officials treated the service with contempt, and ignored the Supreme Court of the United States. This defiance reduced the Court to helplessness; but the effort of Chief Justice John Jay to make a State suable by a private citizen aroused such universal indignation, throughout the Union that, at the very next session of Congress, the Eleventh Amendment was proposed, in which the peculiar language was used, that the judicial power should not be "CONSTRUED" to authorize such suits as those brought by Chisholm. Notwithstanding this national rebuke, the Federal Courts endeavored to take away from the State Courts two criminals, Worcester and Butler, who had been tried and convicted in Gwinnett's Superior Court. Chief Justice Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, delivered the opinion in that case, reversing the Superior Court of Gwinnett County; but the State of Georgia refused to recognize the mandate of the Supreme Court, and the defendants were duly punished in accordance with the sentence imposed upon them by the State Court.

Another historic incident of the same sort grew out of the murder of a white intruder upon the Cherokee country by the Indians. In this, the Tassels case, *application was made to the Federal Court for a writ of error from the State Court. No attention was paid by the State Court to the Federal Court, and Tassels paid the forfeit of his life for his crime. The Graves case was of a like nature.*

In the fourteenth volume of the Georgia Reports, Judge Henry L. Benning delivered a powerful opinion on this subject, *stoutly maintaining the right of the State Courts to utterly ignore the Federal Courts, when these latter are encroaching upon the territory which, in law and of right, belongs to the State.*

TWO UNSOUND AND VICIOUS DECISIONS.

I.

In the "Life of Webster," by Henry Cabot Lodge, the scholarly and candid biographer gives a most interesting account of the manner in which the Federalist prejudices of Chief Justice John Marshall were played upon to secure a decision in favor of the corporation in the celebrated Dartmouth College Case.

Marshall was unquestionably a man of towering intellect and of crystal honesty, but a more violent and persistent partisan never breathed the breath of life.

To hate Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic theory of government, as upheld by the third President, was with John Marshall the equivalent of religious duty. Throughout the whole of his long career as Chief Justice, his decisions did more to consolidate the powers of government, lop off the rights of the States, and to broaden the scope of Federal authority than all the Acts of Congress and all the encroachments of Presidents, put together.

It so happened that the Dartmouth College corporation was Federalist. In politics, therefore, it was what John Marshall himself was.

It happened, furthermore, that the State authorities which sought to modify the charter of the College were Democratic. In politics, they were Jeffersonians.

Very shrewdly, a campaign was set on foot whose object was to get these "outside facts" to the knowledge of Chief Justice Marshall.

It was a delicate matter, requiring tactful management, but the program succeeded.

By the time the case came on for a final hearing, Marshall's feelings as a Federalist had been fully aroused, and the old war horse was champing the bit.

In his mind the facts presented a case of a poor little innocent and benevolent institution of learning—pure in its morals, its work and its politics—threatened with ruin by vile Democrats, by mere irreverent and Jacobinical followers of Tom Jefferson.

Upon this state of mind, Daniel Webster played with consummate address. He argued a little, he declaimed a great deal, he revelled in lofty sentiment, he got off a bit of superb acting, and he shed a few tears.

It was enough.

To snatch a Federalist dove from the talons of the Democratic hawk, this half-frenzied partisan, Judge Marshall made up a decision which is unsound in law, vicious in its consequences, and utterly at war with common sense.

* * * * *

The gist of the celebrated Dartmouth College decision is, that a corporation charter is a contract which cannot be impaired by subsequent legislative action.

Never before in the history of the world had any such dogma been judicially announced.

In England, such a principle was unknown to the law.

The universal ruling had been that a charter was the mere act of creation of the corporation, and that a corporation once created became a citizen—an artificial person,—and was, like

sion, through Federal Courts and Receivers, ran the roads with complete success and then, after having demonstrated that the Government could operate the railroads, allowed a Wall Street banker, Jake Schiff, to step in and gobble up this magnificent transcontinental highway, *for a song*. The Nation had paid for it; the private corporations had looted it; the Nation then had to take charge of it and manage it, and even then Uncle Sam didn't have sense enough to keep it.

In what way Jake Schiff managed to get his greedy paws on it, may be more easily imagined than described. The Credit Mobilier scandals had revealed the methods of Huntington & Co. Those methods probably answered the purposes of Jake Schiff as they had answered those of Huntington.

At all events, Schniff's firm scooped the Union Pacific Railroad, over which the great Harriman now rules with despotic and malevolent sway.

Concerning the Governmental favors extended to the Pacific Railroads, there is in existence an official report, which has become a rare Public Document.

This Report was submitted to Congress by President Cleveland, January, 1888. Accompanying this general report of the Pacific Railway Commission, there is a special report of a special commissioner, Robert E. Pattison. It is this document which is particularly interesting and instructive.

Let the reader bear in mind that we quote now from the official record, endorsed by President Cleveland,—not from stump speech, partisan editorial or magazine article.

Summarizing the facts, as stated by United States Commissioner Pattison, we find that the public aid given to the Pacific Railway Companies amounted to a total of \$447,729,470.54. When the Commissioner made this estimate (1887) the corporations still had unsold land to the amount of 12,615,087 acres. Upon this realty the Commissioner placed a valuation of \$26,054,270,—or a little more than \$2.00 per acre. Since then, lands have advanced in value. Since then, forest timber has enormously increased in value. Since then, coal and other mineral deposits have been found upon these lands. Since then villages, towns, and even small cities have been built, and are now standing, on the railroads' land. Just what the land-grant, yet remaining in the hands of the corporation, is worth, no one can tell. The moderate assumption is that the twelve million acres which Commissioner Pattison estimated at twenty-six million dollars, yielded the railroads many times that sum.

The Union Pacific was built for \$38,824,000; yet the builders capitalized the road for \$109,814,812—thus pocketing the

proceeds of fictitious stock and bonds to the amount of \$70,990,812.

The builders dealt with themselves, acting in one capacity, with themselves, acting in another capacity,—just as more recent scoundrels have done in corporation juggles,—with the result that they charged up against the Union Pacific Railroad, as cost of construction, \$109,814,812, when the actual cost was but \$38,824,000.

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Thus it will be seen that private capitalists not only did not put up the money which built these transcontinental lines, but that public funds did the work. The promoters spent none of their own cash, but on the other hand, got enough from the public to build the roads and to make themselves immensely rich.

Commissioner Pattison, after referring to the fact that Congress, in being liberal to the Pacific Railway Companies, had meant to promote the public interest and had made the companies trustees for that purpose, proceeds to say: "The public interest has been subordinated to the stockholding interest. Nearly every obligation which these corporations assumed under the laws of the United States, or as common carriers, has been violated. *Their management has been a national disgrace.*"

The Commissioner enters into the details which sustain his arraignment of the companies, but space-limit forbids us to follow his amazing revelations of greed, dishonesty, and tyranny.

Only one other paragraph we quote: "They chose dishonest methods. At the outset they divided among themselves \$172,347,115 of fictitious capital, they dissipated over \$107,000,000 which should have been applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the Government debt, and they taxed shippers to the extent of over \$140,000,000, or nearly \$8,000,000 per year, to pay for the inflation of capital of these companies, and for the civic practices that crept into their management."

One of the most interesting and important statements made by the Commissioner is that "The Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific (aided portion) could have been built for \$17,021,488 in addition to the Government loan, all debts could have been paid, including the Government debt, and from the profits of operating the roads and from the land sales the stock could have paid regular dividends of 6 per cent."

The reader is asked to recall the fact that the sum total of public donations to this group of Pacific railways was in

been watered, over and over again, until it is estimated that the sum total of fictitious capitalization in our railroads is \$7,000,000,000—saying nothing of Telegraph, Telephone and other public service corporations.

* * * * *

By what right do the Courts hold that a corporation is legally entitled to earn a net profit on its business before it shall be made to bear any part of the public burdens?

Is such a tender consideration shown for citizens engaged in any other business?

Does the Town, the County, the State or the Nation refrain from putting taxes upon the merchant until it is first ascertained that said merchant will still have a net profit left in his business after allowing for the tax?

Such a suggestion would be laughed out of countenance.

A thousand and one considerations enter into any business enterprise, and its success or failure depend upon circumstances which the Town and the State and the Nation cannot always control, even if they tried.

How can the Government—Municipal, State or Federal—safeguard the individual merchant, banker, lawyer, doctor, publisher, or farmer against mistakes due to his own carelessness, want of natural capacity and foresight, lack of economy and prudence, weakness of judgment and willpower?

It is obvious to every one that the Government cannot undertake to do anything of the kind.

The mere suggestion that before the State can lay a tax upon a banker, a merchant or a farmer it must first go through his books and figure out that he will still have a net profit left after the payment of the tax, is too absurd to be stated seriously.

Yet the railroad lawyers have actually committed some of our judges to that ridiculous principle!

Before the State can impose a tax, or enforce a reduction in rates, there must be a general overhauling of books, an investigation of bond issues, or expense accounts for this, and expense accounts for that, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the corporation will be left with a net profit of reasonable amount after the tax shall have been paid, or the reduction in rates enforced.

If no such net profit will be left to the corporation, then the tax or the reduction in rates will be unconstitutional, because it is "Confiscatory."

How monstrous, how unjust to all other citizens, how partial to corporate wealth, how paralyzing to the powers of government.

The failure of a corporation to make net profits may be

Union,—one District Court deciding a question one way, and another District Court deciding the same question another way—an example of which was furnished by the conflicting decisions of the lower Federal courts upon the Federal Employees' Liability Act.

An adage as old as government itself declares that, *the King shall not be sued by the subject without his own consent*. The states being sovereign,—except to the extent that they have delegated certain powers to the Federal Government,—naturally assume that they would be protected from the suits of private citizens by virtue of the time-honored principle cited.

In the old Confederation, no person, natural or artificial, could have entered suit against one of the sovereign states. After the Union was formed, one Chisholm, being a citizen of the United States but not of the State of Georgia, entered suit against that State. Chief Justice Marshall held that the State was sueable by the private citizen of another state. This position outraged every member of the Union to such an extent that an amendment to the Constitution was at once proposed and adopted *for the purpose of preventing future infractions of state rights*. This is the Eleventh Amendment. During recent years, however, *the Federal Judges, high and low, have nullified the Eleventh Amendment*, and have constantly taken jurisdiction in suits brought by private persons and corporations against the sovereign states of the Union. Governors, Attorney-General, Sheriffs, and other officials of the state, are sued, enjoined in their official capacities, and thus the entire state administration is brought to a stand-still, and then dragged into court, like an ordinary defendant, to appear and plead in answer to the suit of a non-resident corporation or private individual. *The Federal courts solemnly declare that a suit which enjoins the state government and prevents the state officials from acting in their official capacities is not a suit against the state.*

The historic origin of the legal adage that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, must be understood before one can fully appreciate the startling evolution of that principle which has occurred during recent years.

When William the Norman invaded and conquered England, he set up a government of unlimited royal prerogative. As against their Norman masters, Englishmen had almost no rights. In the History of the Middle Ages, Hallam says that in twenty years after the accession of William the Conqueror, almost the whole soil of England had been taken from the English and divided among the foreigners. The Saxon chronicle states: "God sees the wretched people most unjustly

oppressed; first they are despoiled of their possessions, then butchered."

Aubrey, in his "Rise and Growth of the English People", gives an appalling description of the condition of the common people subject to the merciless despotism of the feudal lords. Arbitrary seizures of property; arbitrary fees and fines; arbitrary imprisonment in dungeons, where the victim was left to perish of hunger; arbitrary executions, where the lord gibbeted the vassal on private gallows,—made the Norman regime one of lawlessness and unrestricted oppression of the weak by the strong.

Students of history are familiar with the dissensions which broke out among the conquerors, and with that slow but steady process by which the common people won back their feudal rights.

In the Great Charter, wrung by the barons from King John, is the familiar phrase: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

This meant that absolute monarchy had been brought to an end, and a limited monarchy submitted, in *which the royal prerogative was to give way to a government of constitutional limitations.*

When the Great Charter declares that no free man shall be thrown into prison without due process of law, nothing more is meant than is said. *The evil* was the arbitrary seizure of the weak man by the strong, and the imprisonment and perhaps execution of the victim who had been arbitrarily arrested.

When the Great Charter declares that no free man shall be disseized unless by due process of law, nothing more is meant than that his cattle or his land shall not be taken away from him arbitrarily by the exercise of brute force.

Here we have the historic origin. It all seems plain and simple enough, and yet, with endless ingenuity and audacity, the attorneys of corporations have construed this legal precept to mean that *money invested in corporate enterprise has an in-violable right to earn net profits.* The Federal Judges have actually sustained this absurd doctrine, and so thoroughly well have the corporation lawyers done their work that most of the attorneys who represent the states in cases of this sort, *concede that unless the corporation is allowed to earn net profits, the property of the corporation is confiscated within the meaning of that constitutional clause which comes from Magna Charta.*

With the earning of dividends, the law has nothing whatever to do. The plain meaning of the constitutional provision which has come down to us from

Magna Charta is, that a corporation stands upon exactly the same footing as a natural person, in that it shall not be deprived of its title to its property and the property itself, *without due process of law*. In the case of a railroad, it shall not be deprived of its roadbed, its depots, its locomotives, its box cars, its passenger coaches, etc., etc., without legal process first being had against the company. If the State should pass a law which would make it impossible for the corporation to earn reasonable profits upon the money invested, such a law would be *unjust*, and it ought to be repealed; but how can it be said that such a law *confiscates* the roadbed, the rolling stock, and the various other property of the corporation?

In New York it was held, in a certain case, that unless a corporation were allowed to earn 6 per cent. net profits, the law which lowered the earnings below that standard was *confiscatory*, and, therefore, void. *Confiscatory of what?* Can it be claimed that such a law confiscated the title and took away *the property* of the corporation? To support the contention of such Judges, we must construe Magna Charta to mean that *King John and his barons meant to guarantee net profits to property-holders*. Could anything be more absurd? When a railroad or other corporation sets up a plea of that sort, it takes this position: "We demand that the money invested in corporations be given special privileges, not enjoyed by money invested in private estates or in non-corporate business. We demand the right to manage our corporation affairs to suit ourselves, to pay as much in salaries as we think fit, to pour as much water into the stock as we please, to squander as much on lobbyists, press agents, and special counsel as we think proper; to grant whatever rebates we may think expedient and to make such traffic arrangements with the Express companies as allow those horse-leeches to absorb the cream of our business,—and yet to earn net profits of 6 per cent., else we will block the wheels of state government, tie the hands of state officers, and ignore the laws enacted by state legislatures."

A striking proof of the incapacity of any Judge to pass upon one of these confiscatory pleas, and to say what will be the effect of any given statute imposing taxes or reducing rates, was furnished in the Pennsylvania case, where the state courts held that the two-cent-fare law was *confiscatory to the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad*, and, therefore, null and void. Within twelve months thereafter, this corporation declared an enormous dividend upon watered stock, as well as actual investment.

Another case was furnished in the 80-cent gas fight in New York. It was held that the property of the Gas Trust would

be confiscated if they were compelled to furnish New York with 80-cent gas. It afterwards transpired that the Gas Trust had "cooked up" a statement to suit itself, to impose on the Judge (as was inevitable), and that the real books of accounts were never produced at all. These would have shown that the corporation could have made a splendid profit on 65-cent gas.

The point I make, however, is that the old adage which we derived from Magna Charta, and which, of course, is very much older than that instrument, has been outrageously perverted *when it is used by the courts to guarantee net profits to corporate investments*, no matter how bad may be the management of such corporations, no matter how much fictitious capitalization may be covered up in their securities, no matter how much of the yearly revenue may be squandered, no matter how the business of the corporation may be affected by prevailing conditions from which all business suffers, and no matter how great may be the necessities of the state which seeks to derive some support from those corporations which the state has itself brought into life by its grant of charters.

According to the decisions, a corporation earning 6 per cent. is in full enjoyment of its title and in full possession of its property; but if the state enacts legislation which reduces the profits to 5 per cent., the corporation's title and property have been confiscated!

The corporation may be earning 3 per cent., 4 per cent., 5 per cent., or 5 3-4 per cent.,—but because the law does not allow it to earn 6 per cent., *it has lost its property by confiscation.*

Apparently, it has been forgotten that the separate States were independent sovereignties; that they were never even connected by any permanent bond of union in the Colonial period; that they maintained their separate existence, one having no right whatever to interfere with the internal concerns of another; that they loosely confederated themselves together during the Revolutionary War, the executive power being vested in a Committee; that when Great Britain recognized their independence, each one was named separately, and the independence of each one separately acknowledged; that each State, acting apart from the others, elected representatives to a Constitutional Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation; and that when these representatives, (binding themselves by a solemn oath of secrecy, and deliberating behind closed doors,) adopted an entirely new Constitution, *that Constitution was ratified by the separate act of each one of the States.* Never did the people, *ACTING NATIONALLY*, authorize a *Constitutional Convention for this Republic.* Never did the people, *acting nationally*, ratify and adopt a Constitution for this Republic. The phrase which Webster misconstrued, and which

the nationalists now misconstrue, "*We the people*", was, in the original draft of the Constitution, *followed by the words, "of the States of"—naming each separate State whose independence Great Britain had acknowledged. It was the amanuensis, copying out the work of the Constitution, who omitted the names of the States,—the Fathers themselves, having no conception of the misuse which would afterwards be made of those three words.*

Time and again in *The Federalist*, written by Alexander Hamilton, a nationalist, John Jay, a nationalist, and Madison, a Republican, the word "*compact*" is used; and the Constitution itself shows that *the States were simply parting with a definite portion of their sovereign powers in order that there might be a central government to deal with such matters as foreign commerce, and the regulation of a national currency.*

The judicial power was grudgingly granted by the States to the Federal government, and the limits of its jurisdiction were jealously guarded. In Madison's report, (not published until 1844) it is shown that *every time the proposition was made to give to the Federal Judiciary the right to set aside Acts of Congress, the proposition was voted down.*

As to the manner in which the Federal Judiciary should pass upon State laws, Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention, was thoroughly qualified to express the meaning of the Fathers. *He did so in the Judiciary Act of 1789. He positively provided that State laws should be attacked on Constitutional grounds in the State Courts, from which an appeal should be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. That provision is Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 and it now appears as Section 709 of the Revised Statutes. Its language is as plain as the nose on one's face. WHERE HAS THAT STATUTE BEEN REPEALED OR MODIFIED? It is the law of the land, and ever has been, since the foundations of our Federal judicial system were laid by the Act of 1789. In no other way were State laws challenged prior to the Civil War; these usurpations and encroachments have simply kept pace with the march of colossal corporations. THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY AND THE TRUSTS ARE THE ALLIED ARMIES, MARCHING UPON THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES.*

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Gate found its first expression in a flank movement—"the shun-pike." But this dodging of the issue of the obstacle could not satisfy the cravings of a great people for unobstructed highways. The antagonism to the closed road finally resulted in laws which do not tolerate gates of any kind across the public road.

THE PAYMASTER USURPS THE THRONE OF PATRIOTISM.

In like manner, the interests of the private individuals who now monopolize the iron turnpikes must yield to public necessity. If they are wise in their generation, they will recognize the inevitable and bow to it. Nobody seeks to do them injustice. Their interests must be bought out in a fair, legal, peaceful manner,—but the public must have "the open road." It is intolerable that the highways of the mightiest Republic the world has ever seen should be closed to the people by the chiefs of six great corporations. It is unendurable that eighty-five millions of people should have the toll-gate and turnpike principle fastened upon them in perpetuity.

The natural evolution which first brought forth the improved highway, the Turnpike, and which then cleared it of the Toll Gate—opening it up to the use of the public as a Public Road,—will move right on in its inexorable march, *until the iron highway is also a public road.*

Politicians may shuffle and dodge, corporation managers may bribe and bulldoze, but they can no more arrest the progress of the demand for *the open road* than they can halt the law of gravitation.

THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL HIGHWAY.

It was the Lewis and Clarke expedition, sent out by the Government at the instance of President Jefferson, that first located practicable routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The work of Pathfinder Fremont was built upon this Jeffersonian foundation. Next came the scientific surveys, ordered and supervised by Jefferson Davis, when he was Secretary of war, in the Cabinet of President Pierce.

Full historic credit has been given to Thomas Jefferson, to Lewis and Clarke, and to John C. Fremont, but, so far as we know, the highly important work of Jefferson Davis in actually surveying and scientifically locating the practicable lines along which the Pacific Railways were afterwards built has never been recognized.

It was one of the favorite designs of John C. Calhoun that the Southern States should use their share of the surplus, under

Jackson's administration, in building great trunk lines of railroad.

In a letter written to William C. Dawson in 1835, Mr. Calhoun not only advocates most earnestly the use of this public money in the building of railroads, but urges the States of Georgia and South Carolina to take the lead, and describes the routes which should be adopted—routes which have since been seized, and held, by private enterprises.

In having made topographical surveys of the various routes for railways between the coasts of the Atlantic and the Pacific, Mr. Davis proved that he, as well as Calhoun, realized the National importance of Governmental construction of railroads.

In this prosy year 1907, when Mr. Roosevelt stops at Governmental supervision of the privately owned railroads, and when Mr. Bryan's hedging attitude on "ultimate governmental ownership" would seem to put his platform where the angel Gabriel will use it for a foot-rest when he blows his horn, it is interesting to learn that Calhoun was exerting his utmost influence in 1835, to have Georgia and South Carolina unite and build a system of trunk lines from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River.

To what extent the scientific survey made under the orders of Jefferson Davis may have been related to the scheme for Pacific Railways afterwards fathered by Stephen A. Douglas, we are not able to state. These practicable routes had been mapped out but a short while before we find "the Little Giant" introducing into Congress the first of all the land-grant bills which transferred to the Pacific Railway corporations such vast amounts of the public domain. The Democratic party had already committed itself to the policy of donating to the corporations by the passage of the Stephen A. Douglas bill of 1850, which granted to the Illinois Central Railroad public domain lying in that State.

The original Pacific Railway bill, introduced by Mr. Douglas, did not become a law; but, in July, 1862, Congress passed another bill of the same kind which is perhaps the most complete surrender that the National Government had made to the greedy plunderers, *up to that time*.

In the sum and substance, the Pacific Railroad corporations were given, first and last, more than enough land and money to pay the entire cost of the roads, enough besides to create the colossal fortunes of Stanford, Huntington, Crocker and Hopkins, and enough besides to now build another system of railways from sea to sea.

Yet after all this was done; after the original exploiters had got enough and quit; after Jay Gould had squeezed the system for millions and quit; the United States took posses-

sion, through Federal Courts and Receivers, ran the roads with complete success and then, after having demonstrated that the Government could operate the railroads, allowed a Wall Street banker, Jake Schiff, to step in and gobble up this magnificent transcontinental highway, *for a song*. The Nation had paid for it; the private corporations had looted it; the Nation then had to take charge of it and manage it, and even then Uncle Sam didn't have sense enough to keep it.

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The reader is asked to recall the fact that the sum total of public donations to this group of Pacific railways was in

round numbers, \$447,000,000; that the cost of construction was very much less than this amount; that wreckers got hold of the property and ran it into the hands of U. S. Court Receivers; that Jake Schiff was allowed to capture the prize and in due course of time to place his man Harriman at the head of the transcontinental highway which public money had built.

Just how much Schiff paid for possession, and exactly how the deal was engineered, is not generally understood, but the accepted statement is that he bought the property by assuming a part of the debt which the companies owed the Government, and that *he paid practically no cash at all*. In other words, the public bought the transcontinental line once more and once more gave it to a gang of rapacious, dishonest and tyrannical plunderers,—for every dollar that Schiff and his associates paid was wrung out of the public in freight rates, passenger charges, stock issues and bond juggles. In the history of governmental stupidity, there is nothing which surpasses the record of our dealings with the Pacific Railroads.

We have paid five times as much as was necessary to secure for the public a transcontinental highway, and we haven't got one yet. As fast as we, the people, pay for the road, we, the people, donate it to private corporations. If those in authority did not take so much pains to convince us that we are the most intelligent people under the sun, we might sometimes vaguely suspect that we are the biggest fools in the universe.

In the Federal courts, as now conducted, we find the following monstrous inconsistency. The Judges say, with one accord, that the Federal courts are controlled by *the construction* which is placed upon the state law by the state courts, and yet these same Judges claim the right to *annul the law*. This is absurd on the face of it. The inconsistency is to be explained in only one way. The rule which requires the Federal courts to be bound by *the construction* placed upon a state law by the state courts, arose during the early period of our Government, when the Judiciary Act of 1789 was still respected. Federal Judges of lower courts not only accepted the construction which state courts placed upon the state laws, but accepted *the laws themselves*, until they had been declared unconstitutional by the state courts, or *by the Supreme Court of the United States*.

Never, until the Civil War had ended and the Federal courts began to be filled up with corporation lawyers, did the lower Federal courts arrogate to themselves jurisdiction over state laws which had never been assailed in the state courts.

Not only does this usurpation of power by the lower Federal courts impair the dignity of the state and frequently paralyze the state in the conduct of its domestic concerns, but the inevitable result is the conflict of decisions throughout the

Union,—one District Court deciding a question one way, and another District Court deciding the same question another way—an example of which was furnished by the conflicting decisions of the lower Federal courts upon the Federal Employees' Liability Act.

An adage as old as government itself declares that, *the King shall not be sued by the subject without his own consent*. The states being sovereign,—except to the extent that they have delegated certain powers to the Federal Government,—naturally assume that they would be protected from the suits of private citizens by virtue of the time-honored principle cited.

In the old Confederation, no person, natural or artificial, could have entered suit against one of the sovereign states. After the Union was formed, one Chisholm, being a citizen of the United States but not of the State of Georgia, entered suit against that State. Chief Justice Marshall held that the State was sueable by the private citizen of another state. This position outraged every member of the Union to such an extent that an amendment to the Constitution was at once proposed and adopted *for the purpose of preventing future infractions of state rights*. This is the Eleventh Amendment. During recent years, however, *the Federal Judges, high and low, have nullified the Eleventh Amendment*, and have constantly taken jurisdiction in suits brought by private persons and corporations against the sovereign states of the Union. Governors, Attorney-General, Sheriffs, and other officials of the state, are sued, enjoined in their official capacities, and thus the entire state administration is brought to a stand-still, and then dragged into court, like an ordinary defendant, to appear and plead in answer to the suit of a non-resident corporation or private individual. *The Federal courts solemnly declare that a suit which enjoins the state government and prevents the state officials from acting in their official capacities is not a suit against the state.*

The historic origin of the legal adage that no citizen shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, must be understood before one can fully appreciate the startling evolution of that principle which has occurred during recent years.

When William the Norman invaded and conquered England, he set up a government of unlimited royal prerogative. As against their Norman masters, Englishmen had almost no rights. In the History of the Middle Ages, Hallam says that in twenty years after the accession of William the Conqueror, almost the whole soil of England had been taken from the English and divided among the foreigners. The Saxon chronicle states: "God sees the wretched people most unjustly

oppressed; first they are despoiled of their possessions, then butchered."

Aubrey, in his "Rise and Growth of the English People", gives an appalling description of the condition of the common people subject to the merciless despotism of the feudal lords. Arbitrary seizures of property; arbitrary fees and fines; arbitrary imprisonment in dungeons, where the victim was left to perish of hunger; arbitrary executions, where the lord gibbeted the vassal on private gallows,—made the Norman regime one of lawlessness and unrestricted oppression of the weak by the strong.

Students of history are familiar with the dissensions which broke out among the conquerors, and with that slow but steady process by which the common people won back their feudal rights.

In the Great Charter, wrung by the barons from King John, is the familiar phrase: "No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

This meant that absolute monarchy had been brought to an end, and a limited monarchy submitted, in *which the royal prerogative was to give way to a government of constitutional limitations.*

When the Great Charter declares that no free man shall be thrown into prison without due process of law, nothing more is meant than is said. *The evil* was the arbitrary seizure of the weak man by the strong, and the imprisonment and perhaps execution of the victim who had been arbitrarily arrested.

When the Great Charter declares that no free man shall be disseized unless by due process of law, nothing more is meant than that his cattle or his land shall not be taken away from him arbitrarily by the exercise of brute force.

Here we have the historic origin. It all seems plain and simple enough, and yet, with endless ingenuity and audacity, the attorneys of corporations have construed this legal precept to mean that *money invested in corporate enterprise has an in-violable right to earn net profits.* The Federal Judges have actually sustained this absurd doctrine, and so thoroughly well have the corporation lawyers done their work that most of the attorneys who represent the states in cases of this sort, *concede that unless the corporation is allowed to earn net profits, the property of the corporation is confiscated within the meaning of that constitutional clause which comes from Magna Charta.*

With the earning of dividends, the law has nothing whatever to do. The plain meaning of the constitutional provision which has come down to us from

Magna Charta is, that a corporation stands upon exactly the same footing as a natural person, in that it shall not be deprived of its title to its property and the property itself, *without due process of law*. In the case of a railroad, it shall not be deprived of its roadbed, its depots, its locomotives, its box cars, its passenger coaches, etc., etc., without legal process first being had against the company. If the State should pass a law which would make it impossible for the corporation to earn reasonable profits upon the money invested, such a law would be *unjust*, and it ought to be repealed; but how can it be said that such a law *confiscates* the roadbed, the rolling stock, and the various other property of the corporation?

In New York it was held, in a certain case, that unless a corporation were allowed to earn 6 per cent. net profits, the law which lowered the earnings below that standard was *confiscatory*, and, therefore, void. *Confiscatory of what?* Can it be claimed that such a law confiscated the title and took away *the property* of the corporation? To support the contention of such Judges, we must construe Magna Charta to mean that *King John and his barons meant to guarantee net profits to property-holders*. Could anything be more absurd? When a railroad or other corporation sets up a plea of that sort, it takes this position: "We demand that the money invested in corporations be given special privileges, not enjoyed by money invested in private estates or in non-corporate business. We demand the right to manage our corporation affairs to suit ourselves, to pay as much in salaries as we think fit, to pour as much water into the stock as we please, to squander as much on lobbyists, press agents, and special counsel as we think proper; to grant whatever rebates we may think expedient and to make such traffic arrangements with the Express companies as allow those horse-leeches to absorb the cream of our business,—and yet to earn net profits of 6 per cent., else we will block the wheels of state government, tie the hands of state officers, and ignore the laws enacted by state legislatures."

A striking proof of the incapacity of any Judge to pass upon one of these confiscatory pleas, and to say what will be the effect of any given statute imposing taxes or reducing rates, was furnished in the Pennsylvania case, where the state courts held that the two-cent-fare law was *confiscatory to the property of the Pennsylvania Railroad*, and, therefore, null and void. Within twelve months thereafter, this corporation declared an enormous dividend upon watered stock, as well as actual investment.

Another case was furnished in the 80-cent gas fight in New York. It was held that the property of the Gas Trust would

be confiscated if they were compelled to furnish New York with 80-cent gas. It afterwards transpired that the Gas Trust had "cooked up" a statement to suit itself, to impose on the Judge (as was inevitable), and that the real books of accounts were never produced at all. These would have shown that the corporation could have made a splendid profit on 65-cent gas.

The point I make, however, is that the old adage which we derived from Magna Charta, and which, of course, is very much older than that instrument, has been outrageously perverted *when it is used by the courts to guarantee net profits to corporate investments*, no matter how bad may be the management of such corporations, no matter how much fictitious capitalization may be covered up in their securities, no matter how much of the yearly revenue may be squandered, no matter how the business of the corporation may be affected by prevailing conditions from which all business suffers, and no matter how great may be the necessities of the state which seeks to derive some support from those corporations which the state has itself brought into life by its grant of charters.

According to the decisions, a corporation earning 6 per cent. is in full enjoyment of its title and in full possession of its property; but if the state enacts legislation which reduces the profits to 5 per cent., the corporation's title and property have been confiscated!

The corporation may be earning 3 per cent., 4 per cent., 5 per cent., or 5 3-4 per cent.,—but because the law does not allow it to earn 6 per cent., *it has lost its property by confiscation.*

Apparently, it has been forgotten that the separate States were independent sovereignties; that they were never even connected by any permanent bond of union in the Colonial period; that they maintained their separate existence, one having no right whatever to interfere with the internal concerns of another; that they loosely confederated themselves together during the Revolutionary War, the executive power being vested in a Committee; that when Great Britain recognized their independence, each one was named separately, and the independence of each one separately acknowledged; that each State, acting apart from the others, elected representatives to a Constitutional Convention to revise the Articles of Confederation; and that when these representatives, (binding themselves by a solemn oath of secrecy, and deliberating behind closed doors,) adopted an entirely new Constitution, *that Constitution was ratified by the separate act of each one of the States.* Never did the people, *ACTING NATIONALLY*, authorize a Constitutional Convention for this Republic. Never did the people, *acting nationally*, ratify and adopt a Constitution for this Republic. The phrase which Webster misconstrued, and which

the nationalists now misconstrue, "*We the people*", was, in the original draft of the Constitution, *followed by the words, "of the States of"—naming each separate State whose independence Great Britain had acknowledged.* It was the amanuensis, copying out the work of the Constitution, who omitted the names of the States,—*the Fathers themselves, having no conception of the misuse which would afterwards be made of those three words.*

Time and again in *The Federalist*, written by Alexander Hamilton, a nationalist, John Jay, a nationalist, and Madison, a Republican, the word "*compact*" is used; and the Constitution itself shows that *the States were simply parting with a definite portion of their sovereign powers in order that there might be a central government to deal with such matters as foreign commerce, and the regulation of a national currency.*

The judicial power was grudgingly granted by the States to the Federal government, and the limits of its jurisdiction were jealously guarded. In Madison's report, (not published until 1844) it is shown that *every time the proposition was made to give to the Federal Judiciary the right to set aside Acts of Congress, the proposition was voted down.*

As to the manner in which the Federal Judiciary should pass upon State laws, Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention, was thoroughly qualified to express the meaning of the Fathers. *He did so in the Judiciary Act of 1789.* He positively provided that State laws should be attacked on Constitutional grounds *in the State Courts*, from which an appeal should be taken to *the Supreme Court of the United States.* That provision is Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 and it now appears as Section 709 of the Revised Statutes. Its language is as plain as the nose on one's face. **WHERE HAS THAT STATUTE BEEN REPEALED OR MODIFIED?** *It is the law of the land, and ever has been, since the foundations of our Federal judicial system were laid by the Act of 1789. In no other way were State laws challenged prior to the Civil War; these usurpations and encroachments have simply kept pace with the march of colossal corporations. THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY AND THE TRUSTS ARE THE ALLIED ARMIES, MARCHING UPON THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF THE STATES.*

When the United States Supreme Court had for its Chief Justice John Jay, of New York,—one of the authors of *The Federalist*—he took jurisdiction over a suit which one Chisholm, of Alabama, brought against the State of Georgia. *The*

United States Marshal served process upon Governor Telfair and his Attorney-General: these officials treated the service with contempt, and ignored the Supreme Court of the United States. This defiance reduced the Court to helplessness; but the effort of Chief Justice John Jay to make a State suable by a private citizen aroused such universal indignation, throughout the Union that, at the very next session of Congress, the Eleventh Amendment was proposed, in which the peculiar language was used, that the judicial power should not be "CONSTRUED" to authorize such suits as those brought by Chisholm. Notwithstanding this national rebuke, the Federal Courts endeavored to take away from the State Courts two criminals, Worcester and Butler, who had been tried and convicted in Gwinnett's Superior Court. Chief Justice Marshall, of the United States Supreme Court, delivered the opinion in that case, reversing the Superior Court of Gwinnett County; but the State of Georgia refused to recognize the mandate of the Supreme Court, and the defendants were duly punished in accordance with the sentence imposed upon them by the State Court.

Another historic incident of the same sort grew out of the murder of a white intruder upon the Cherokee country by the Indians. In this, the Tassels case, *application was made to the Federal Court for a writ of error from the State Court. No attention was paid by the State Court to the Federal Court, and Tassels paid the forfeit of his life for his crime. The Graves case was of a like nature.*

In the fourteenth volume of the Georgia Reports, Judge Henry L. Benning delivered a powerful opinion on this subject, *stoutly maintaining the right of the State Courts to utterly ignore the Federal Courts, when these latter are encroaching upon the territory which, in law and of right, belongs to the State.*

TWO UNSOUND AND VICIOUS DECISIONS.

I.

In the "Life of Webster," by Henry Cabot Lodge, the scholarly and candid biographer gives a most interesting account of the manner in which the Federalist prejudices of Chief Justice John Marshall were played upon to secure a decision in favor of the corporation in the celebrated Dartmouth College Case.

Marshall was unquestionably a man of towering intellect and of crystal honesty, but a more violent and persistent partisan never breathed the breath of life.

To hate Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic theory of government, as upheld by the third President, was with John Marshall the equivalent of religious duty. Throughout the whole of his long career as Chief Justice, his decisions did more to consolidate the powers of government, lop off the rights of the States, and to broaden the scope of Federal authority than all the Acts of Congress and all the encroachments of Presidents, put together.

It so happened that the Dartmouth College corporation was Federalist. In politics, therefore, it was what John Marshall himself was.

It happened, furthermore, that the State authorities which sought to modify the charter of the College were Democratic. In politics, they were Jeffersonians.

Very shrewdly, a campaign was set on foot whose object was to get these "outside facts" to the knowledge of Chief Justice Marshall.

It was a delicate matter, requiring tactful management, but the program succeeded.

By the time the case came on for a final hearing, Marshall's feelings as a Federalist had been fully aroused, and the old war horse was champing the bit.

In his mind the facts presented a case of a poor little innocent and benevolent institution of learning—pure in its morals, its work and its politics—threatened with ruin by vile Democrats, by mere irreverent and Jacobinical followers of Tom Jefferson.

Upon this state of mind, Daniel Webster played with consummate address. He argued a little, he declaimed a great deal, he revelled in lofty sentiment, he got off a bit of superb acting, and he shed a few tears.

It was enough.

To snatch a Federalist dove from the talons of the Democratic hawk, this half-frenzied partisan, Judge Marshall made up a decision which is unsound in law, vicious in its consequences, and utterly at war with common sense.

* * * * *

The gist of the celebrated Dartmouth College decision is, that a corporation charter is a contract which cannot be impaired by subsequent legislative action.

Never before in the history of the world had any such dogma been judicially announced.

In England, such a principle was unknown to the law.

The universal ruling had been that a charter was the mere act of creation of the corporation, and that a corporation once created became a citizen—an artificial person,—and was, like

other citizens, subject to such changes in the laws of the land as might be legally made.

Thus in England, the natural person and the artificial person were placed, as far as was compatible with the differences between the two, on exactly the same footing.

But, the effect of the astonishing decision of Judge Marshall in the Dartmouth College Case was, to exalt the corporation above the individual, the artificial above the natural person, the law-made creature above the God-made man.

The natural person takes his place in the community with the understanding that his status may be altered by the community at any time—provided the change is made in the legally appointed way. Every natural person of every State in this Union knows that Congress, or the State in which he lives, may at any time amend or repeal the existing laws, and make other laws which vitally affect him in life, liberty and property.

The natural person must submit to these changes in the laws—or get out.

But, according to the Dartmouth College Case, a corporation occupies a higher and better position than a natural person. The status of the latter may be changed by law; that of the former cannot.

The proposition is monstrous on the face of it.

* * * * *

Again, no English judge ever held that a charter was a contract. No judge, anywhere, had ever so held.

More in the nature of a License, a Charter authorizes certain persons to establish a college, a church, a hospital, or to dig a canal, build a railroad, or publish a newspaper.

The State grants the Charter, or the License, but the State cannot compel the corporation to establish the college, the the church, the hospital, or to dig the canal, build the railroad or to publish the newspaper.

If the Charter were in fact, a Contract, the State could compel the parties incorporated to do the thing contemplated, for a Contract binds both contracting parties, equally.

Inasmuch as no lawyer or judge has ever claimed that the State had the power to compel the corporation to carry out the purpose expressed in the Charter, the very first essential of a contract is lacking.

A Charter, therefore, does not bind both parties and cannot be a Contract. It merely calls in existence an artificial person and authorizes that person to do a certain thing.

* * * * *

Behind the deplorable decision of Chief Justice Marshall,

the corporations have intrenched themselves. Upon this decision, they have raised the walls of their empire. Against this powerful bulwark, they confidently expect that the waves of public indignation against corporation wrong will break in vain.

And their confidence might be justified were it not for one tremendous fact which has thus far been overlooked: the franchises of the corporations have been misused, and can be forfeited by the States which granted them.

Every railroad corporation which has violated the law; which has granted secret rebates; which has been guilty of discriminations; which has furnished shipping facilities to one patron while refusing them to another; which has aided a Trust of any kind to stifle competition, *HAS FORFEITED ITS CHARTER.*

Such acts as those enumerated above are tantamount to that Misuser of Franchise which, in law, works a forfeiture, just as Nonuser and Surrender of Charter put an end to the life of the artificial person called a Corporation.

Of course, the rule applies, also, to Telegraph, Telephone and Express Companies.

This phase of the question will be discussed more fully in subsequent numbers.

II.

Another principle which has been established by judicial decision, and which is equally vicious, is that which annuls as unconstitutional Acts of Congress, or of State Legislatures, which are alleged to be "Confiscatory," in their application to corporations.

* * * * *

The Vanderbilt family waters the stock of the New York Central Railroad to the amount of one hundred million dollars, we will say.

Now, suppose the New York Legislature fixes a passenger rate and a freight rate which are so low that the Vanderbilts cannot earn a dividend upon the honest capitalization of the road and at the same time, a dividend upon the watered stock.

What happens?

The Vanderbilts take the case into Court, make the issue that the rate fixed by the Legislature is "Confiscatory," and the Court declares the law to be unconstitutional.

Because they are not allowed to earn profits upon fictitious valuation, as well as upon actual investment, the law has "Confiscated" their property!

The same illustration can be made by using the names of the owners of any other system of railroads, for they have all

been watered, over and over again, until it is estimated that the sum total of fictitious capitalization in our railroads is \$7,000,000,000—saying nothing of Telegraph, Telephone and other public service corporations.

* * * * *

By what right do the Courts hold that a corporation is legally entitled to earn a net profit on its business before it shall be made to bear any part of the public burdens?

Is such a tender consideration shown for citizens engaged in any other business?

Does the Town, the County, the State or the Nation refrain from putting taxes upon the merchant until it is first ascertained that said merchant will still have a net profit left in his business after allowing for the tax?

Such a suggestion would be laughed out of countenance.

A thousand and one considerations enter into any business enterprise, and its success or failure depend upon circumstances which the Town and the State and the Nation cannot always control, even if they tried.

How can the Government—Municipal, State or Federal—safeguard the individual merchant, banker, lawyer, doctor, publisher, or farmer against mistakes due to his own carelessness, want of natural capacity and foresight, lack of economy and prudence, weakness of judgment and willpower?

It is obvious to every one that the Government cannot undertake to do anything of the kind.

The mere suggestion that before the State can lay a tax upon a banker, a merchant or a farmer it must first go through his books and figure out that he will still have a net profit left after the payment of the tax, is too absurd to be stated seriously.

Yet the railroad lawyers have actually committed some of our judges to that ridiculous principle!

Before the State can impose a tax, or enforce a reduction in rates, there must be a general overhauling of books, an investigation of bond issues, or expense accounts for this, and expense accounts for that, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the corporation will be left with a net profit of reasonable amount after the tax shall have been paid, or the reduction in rates enforced.

If no such net profit will be left to the corporation, then the tax or the reduction in rates will be unconstitutional, because it is "Confiscatory."

How monstrous, how unjust to all other citizens, how partial to corporate wealth, how paralyzing to the powers of government.

The failure of a corporation to make net profits may be

due to a thousand and one causes—as is the case with the individual.

The affairs of the corporation may be badly managed; its relations to other corporations may be disadvantageous to it; the salaries paid to high officials may be too large; its revenues may be frittered away in free passes, private cars and other forms of petty graft; its trains may be operated by cheap employes, and the wrecks which result may entail upon the corporation enormous expenses in the way of damage suits; it may spend too much of its money upon lobbyists, politicians, editors, legislators, judges and Congressmen; it may have an inside clique of stockholders who own stock, likewise, in the Express Companies and this clique may so contract with the Express Companies that the latter systematically milk the railroads of its best business, it may be “reorganized” and Morganized several times until the expertest book-keepers on earth cannot unravel the fraudulent from the honest capitalization, and the back-bone of the corporation may be broken by fictitious bonds and stock—a dishonest load put upon it by its own managers.

These are a few of the reasons why some corporations may not earn a net profit. Where a failure to earn dividends is traceable to any of these causes, the corporation has none but itself to blame for its non-success.

Yet, according to the principle of these absurd “Confiscatory” decisions, the State cannot tax the corporations, nor reduce its charges, so long as its own mismanagement results in a lack of net revenue.

Could anything be more preposterous?

Shall the State indemnify a corporation against its own incompetency? Shall the State guarantee net profits to wealth because it is corporate wealth?

* * * * *

When the Town, the County, the State, and the Nation come to fix the rate of taxation upon natural persons, no questions are asked about net earnings.

No books of account are examined. No plea of “Confiscatory” is entertained.

The government lays the tax, and the citizen pays it, or is sold out.

Tens of thousands of merchants and farmers have to quit the struggle every few years, because the sharpness of competition, the burden of necessary expenses and the weight of taxes leave nothing in the business.

With town taxes constantly increasing, with State and County taxes ever advancing, with a national tax of \$45 laid,

annually, upon every household in the Union is it any marvel that the public burdens often prove "Confiscatory?"

Even if national taxes were equitably distributed the load would be prodigious, but the worst feature of it all is that those who are ablest to pay their share of the national taxes pay none at all.

The unprotected consumers of the middle and lower classes not only have to pay the full \$45 quota levied upon his own home, but have to make good to the Government the default of the Protected Classes who not only pay none of the tax themselves but who accumulate fabulous fortunes out of the Protective System.

Yet never once has the Government, in arranging its Morrill schedules, or its McKinley schedules, or its Dingley schedules, paused to inquire whether a tax which doubles the normal cost of more than 3,000 articles which the American consumer is compelled to buy, will strike the last dollar of profit out of the business of thousands of merchants and farmers.

The plea of "Confiscatory" fights for the corporation, only:—it draws no sword, holds up no shield, for the individual citizen.

* * * * *

Nor do the corporations themselves ever give the slightest consideration of the "Confiscatory" principle in fixing their own rates.

Remorselessly, they put such burdens upon certain communities and certain industries as crush the life out of them.

Against the Truckmen, against the Melon-grower, against the Fruit-grower, against the Independent wherever he is resisting the Trust, these ruthless corporations have hurled rates and discriminations which Confiscate net earnings, Confiscate the capital invested, Confiscate energy, enterprise and hope!

These lawless and heartless corporations are constantly using their tremendous power in a manner which Confiscates the labor and the capital of natural persons:—and when arraigned in a State Court they cry "Inter-State Commerce," and take refuge behind some Federal Judge whom they can trust; and, when hotly pursued by honest Federal authorities, they grab hold of the horns of the altar and yell "State's Rights!"

* * * * *

It may be impossible to secure a reversal of the decision in the Dartmouth College Case. It may be impossible to get the Courts to see the folly of the "Confiscatory" rulings.

But the natural persons who are the victims of these cor-

porations must have relief; and in every State the power to give that relief lies within easy reach.

THE STATE GRANTED EVERY ONE OF THE CHARTERS.

What the State gave, the State can take away.

Let us forfeit the charters, and take back to ourselves those vast powers which we unwisely yielded to artificial persons.

The right of Eminent Domain was invoked to take from private citizens the property which the corporations needed: let us invoke the State's right of Eminent Domain to take from the corporations and restore to the public those franchises which have been so cruelly, so persistently, so defiantly, and so ruinously used against us by the corporations.

Twenty years ago, I was in the Supreme Court room, of Georgia, awaiting the call of a case on the docket. Mr. Frank H. Miller of the Augusta bar, was holding the attention of the Court with the argument of the various points made in the Bill of Exceptions in "The Augusta and Summerville R. R. Co. vs. Randall and Wife." (77 Ga. Rpts. 312 et seq.)

The monotony of the proceedings was interrupted by Mr. Miller's "Ninthly." When he made the point that a certain statute of the State of Georgia was void as to the Augusta and Summerville R. R. Co., *because* it was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, Judges Blandford and Hall—bluff old gentlemen and capital lawyers,—broke out into a good-humored, but hearty and emphatic, protest.

"Why, Mr. Miller," said they, "*the Fourteenth Amendment hasn't got anything to do with your street-car company: THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THAT AMENDMENT IS NIGGERS.*"—And a fat laugh refreshed the Bench.

And, of course, we lawyers laughed with the Court,—the Judge's jokes all being good jokes, from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary.

When the decision rendered in the case came to be written out, the language used by the Court was not quite so literal, but the sense is the same, for they say,

"Such a construction is clearly not contemplated in this Fourteenth Amendment. *It refers to classes, and means that you shall not impose a different rule upon a man whose color is black from that imposed upon one whose color is white. THAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THE AMENDMENT; THAT IS WHY IT WAS PUT THERE; AND IT WAS NOT INTENDED TO MEAN ANYTHING ELSE.*"

When those three changes in the organic law were being made, nobody intended new legislation upon any other earthly subject than upon *the status of the Negro*. To him, and to him ✓

alone, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were meant to carry new and precious gifts.

By the very wording of these Amendments it will be seen that they applied to natural persons, not to artificial creations by charter. Take the first sentence of the Fourteenth Amendment:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside."

Surely, it is clear that *this* sentence does not refer to corporations.

Take the next sentence.

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive ANY PERSON of *life, liberty or property*, without due process of law.

How can it be contended that this language refers to corporations?

Whenever a statute refers to "*any person*" in that way, the meaning *always is, natural person*.

"You shall not deprive any person of his life,"—does not mean a gas company.

"You shall not deprive any person of his liberty"—does not mean an express company.

"You shall not deprive a person of his property," comes right along in the same connection and applies, as the two preceding clauses obviously do, *to natural persons*.

The Legislature cannot imprison a corporation—then *why should the Fourteenth Amendment do so foolish a thing as to command the States not to do the impossible?*

What the framers of those Amendments meant was that the Southern States should not whip the devil around the stump, and practically *re-enslave the negro* by denying to him the equal protection of the laws.

The whole scope and purpose of Congress and the adopting States was to give to the recently emancipated negro those rights which *the laws of the States themselves gave to the whites*. That was all.

When these changes in the organic law of the Union were being made, the country was still rocking under the tremendous passions aroused by the Civil War. The Abolitionist was triumphant and intoxicated. He believed that the negro could be lifted into equality with the white man by virtue of constitutional tinkering. To strike off his chains and to rub his head with a school-book would qualify him to guide the destinies of the Republic. Rebuking the Almighty for his neglect *in not making a white man out of the African*, the well-mean-

ing but crazy Abolitionists determined to make a white man out of him by legislative enactment.

Any judicial construction of those three Amendments which fails to make *the legislative intent* the final test of their meaning must necessarily be wrong.

Yet,—incredible to relate!—Corporation lawyers have taken possession of the Fourteenth Amendment as though it had been originally intended as a bomb-proof for chartered greed and encroachment.

Although the Bill of Rights of each State guarantees to its citizens full protection of life, liberty and property, the corporations shun the State Courts. With one accord they turn to the Federal Judges. To get themselves into the Federal Courts, they are compelled to allege a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and the only line in that instrument upon which they can build their hopes is that sentence already quoted from the Fourteenth Amendment, a sentence which has no reference whatever to artificial persons.

BETWEEN THE MILL-STONES.

Round and round, on and on, with a roar that never stops, with a force that nothing checks, whirl the two titanic mill-stones—*grinding human grist*.

The battle is fought and is ended: it may last half a day, the whole of a day, or several days,—but the end comes after awhile, and the armies separate; the flag of truce lifts its white signal, praying for peace and the right to bury the dead.

The long trench swallows its appointed food: the hospitals fill up with the mangled; and that is the last of it until, months afterward, another battle is fought.

But there is one species of carnage that never stops, never fires the last gun, never sends a flag of truce, never goes into winter quarters, never grants a furlough, not a suspension of arms to bury the dead.

The heartless waste of our seed-corn, the little children, in our mills and sweat shops; the annual wrecking of tens of thousands of our strong men in the more dangerous and deadly employments; the yearly burials alive of men, women and children in the mines; the murder of railway mail clerks in the flimsy pine boxes used for their transport; the deliberate poisoning of the Food Products dealt out to our people; the systematic commerce in young girls in the great cities; the legalized debauching of our boys and young men in the gilded saloon, and the more deadly Drug Store where the *License to Cure* is prostituted into a *Chartered Right to Destroy*,—these are some of the life-consuming agencies which burn, burn,

BURN all the time, devouring in the aggregate more men than have ever fallen—comparing decade with decade—in the bloodiest of wars known to history.

* * * * *

Consider just two of these man-killing agencies: consider the Steel Trust and the Railroads.

Both of these criminal combinations of capital are specially favored by law. Each enjoys the full sweep of legal *Privilege*. The law has been made to suit them. The Courts have been filled to suit them. The Decisions of Courts have been made to suit them. Their managers and owners are the associates of Presidents, Kings, Emperors and Popes. Red-handed criminal though he is, J. Pierpont Morgan goes to see President Roosevelt in his yacht, is an honored caller at the Vatican, is chummy with that gay old scoundrel, Leopold of Belgium, and is high in the esteem of that reformed rake, Edward of England.

The same, substantially, can be said of Carnegie, Schwab, Frick, Ryan, Harriman, Gould or any other pre-eminent criminal among these man-killing money-getters.

If you, Mr. Private Citizen, should draw your gun, fire recklessly into a crowded street, and kill some peaceful man in that crowd, you would be deservedly sentenced to death for *criminal negligence*, although you had no malice against the man! as the wanton creature who recklessly fires into a crowd. *to do it.*"

The law would thunder into your ears the stern judgment, "The natural consequence of your carelessness was to endanger human life; and because you killed a fellow creature by your criminal negligence, *your life is forfeit.*"

Yet you, Mr. Citizen, continue to be unmoved, year after year, while the Morgans, and Carnegies, and Harrimans, are recklessly *shooting into the crowd, and killing somebody every day!*

Mr. Citizen, will *your time* never come? Will it never be *your dying wife* that is dragged, all charred with fire, from the flaming wreck? Will it never be *your pretty little babe*, or the little grandchild that you love so fondly, that will be handed back to you, lifeless, broken, mutilated almost beyond recognition, from those shattered and burning cars?

For God's sake think of it! Two monster combinations of predatory capital are trying to reap where they have not sown,—trying to get something for nothing, *trying to earn Dividends on Watered Stock.*

That's the secret—and there is *the motive for the Crime.*

The Steel Trust is remorselessly straining every nerve to earn dividends on \$500,000,000 of common stock which doe

not represent a single dollar of actual investment by the scoundrels who issued the stock. Those scoundrels, to be specific, were J. P. Morgan, Charles Schwab, H. C. Frick, Corey, Phipps, Gary & Co. Andrew Carnegie is *morally* as guilty as Morgan and Schwab and Frick, for he pocketed a huge share in the general loot.

The Railroads, on the other hand, are straining every nerve to earn the dividends on at least \$12,000,000,000 of watered stock. The rascals who loaded the railroads with the burden of earning revenues upon watered stock are Tom Ryan, J. J. Hill, August Belmont, E. H. Harriman, George Gould, J. P. Morgan, Jake Schiff, the Vanderbilts, and a good many others.

Now see how *Criminal Negligence plays its ghastly part.*

The Steel Trust, ravenous for dividends upon fictitious capitalization, crushes competition at home, divides territory with rivals abroad, and thus, *made secure from competition, CHEAPENS ITS PRODUCTS*, turns out a poor quality of goods, *furnishes the railroads with defective rails*, and these cheap, badly-made rails break under the pressure of heavy engines and cars, *causing the wreck* that fills the hospitals with the wounded and the grave-yard with the dead.

The men of the Steel Trust who furnish these defective rails, *knowing that their natural tendency and effect will be to cause a railroad smash-up*, are just as guilty, before God and man! as the wanton creature who recklessly fires into a crowd.

On the other hand, there are the Railroads, also ravenous for dividends upon fictitious capitalization, operating the property for the primary purpose of *making money*, forced by the necessity of earning dividends upon watered stock, to practice ferocious economy; and thus logically led into *buying the cheapest rails, WHEN THEY OUGHT TO EQUIP THE ROADS WITH THE VERY BEST THAT CAN BE BOUGHT.*

The watered stock compels the cruel economy; the cruel economy causes the purchase of cheap rails; the cheap rails cause the wreck; and thus we have the criminal lust for *net earnings upon fictitious capitalization* killing more people than were slaughtered by the armies of Grant and Lee.

Murderers! Of course they are murderers! And Judson Clements, member of the National Inter-State Commerce Commission, spoke out the literal truth when he gave out the bold statement that some of these bold railroad criminals ought to be put behind the bars!

Caught between the upper and the lower mill-stones, the Steel Trust above and the Railroads below, we are ground to powder, without pity, without relief, without limit. Presidents come and Presidents go, but the damnable system grinds on forever.

Nothing halts the soulless man-devouring corporations, monsters of greed, defiant of law, insolent in the strength of immunity of *Money!*

At every hour of *every day in the week*, some little group of mourners follows to the grave-yard some dead man, or dead woman, or dead child, *murdered by the Railroads.*

It is murder, for the element of Criminal Negligence is involved in almost every one of these railroad horrors.

Today it is *the Engineer* who is buried; he lost his life because the company had employed a cheap, incompetent telegraph operator who mistook a Message, or a stupid flagman who gave the wrong signal, or the blundering lout who did not know how to set the switch.

Yesterday it was the Passenger who was buried; he lost his life because of worn-out crossties, or defective rails, which threw the cars off the track.

Last week it was the citizen, not passenger or employe, who was borne to the cemetery; he lost his life at some deadly grade-crossing which had already made its name as a death-trap, or he was crushed beneath the wheels of a backing car which came upon him noiselessly, without notice, dealing awful death to him from behind.

Criminal Negligence is slaying its thousands on these roads every year. We are in the midst of such perpetual slaughter of human beings as would cause an outbreak of popular vengeance *if we could see, piled up on one field, the dead and the dying*, as we see it in time of war.

We are aghast at the butchery of Cold Harbor, of Chickamauga, of Malvern Hill, of Gravelotte; but the railroads give us, *every year*, more victims of Criminal Negligence than fell before the guns in any of these battles. The world yet shudders at the narrative of the horrors of Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow; but, God help us!—we have *our* Retreat from Moscow *going on all the time.*

Death from cold and starvation—as in the Russian campaign—was bad enough, heaven knows!—but who would not embrace such a death joyfully in preference to death in the railroad wreck? To fall asleep in the white arms of the snow, a thousand miles from home and loved ones was tragic, was sad beyond expression; but what painter in words or colors can body forth the horrors of a lingering death in the flames of burning cars, with the groans of the dying and the shrieks of the maimed ringing in one's ears?

Criminal Negligence! That is the insatiable murderer. *How long will it be before he is brought to justice?*

The Coast Line Road cleared 30 per cent net earnings *several years ago*—and watered its stock thirty per cent; yet *the* Department of Justice had to go after the Railroad, on

the criminal side of the Federal Courts, for its *refusal to obey the law* as to safety appliances.

The South Carolina Commission and the Virginia Commission, and the National Interstate Commission have all been after the Southern Railway Company for non-compliance with law, the fault of the corporation being the failure to provide safety appliances, to remove rotten crossties, to use heavy rails, and to spend sufficient money to make the roads safe.

Did you read the newspapers of Saturday, May 11, 1907? If so, you saw where Harriman was watering the stock of two of his roads *one hundred and eleven million dollars!*

Did you read the papers on the Monday following? If so, you saw a detailed statement of *the awful wreck on one of those very roads.*

A train load of passengers, going at terrific speed and rushing into a *defective switch*; then a shattered train, and a scene of suffering and death which beggars description. Some thirty-five people killed outright, and those were the victims which suffered least. Of those who were scalded, *whose flesh was cooked in the boiling water*, whose skins peeled off when their clothes were removed—who can tell the agony?

Think of this:

One passenger was eating at a corner table; the wreck came; the hot water tanks poured their contents over him; brave rescuers dragged him from under the scalding steam; he murmured, "Thank God," and died.

And it might just as well have been *me*, or you; *my wife*, or *yours*; *my child*, or *yours!* *It is liable to happen to any of us, at any time.*

And at the very time this defective switch was sending thirty-five men to sudden death in California, *the President of the road* was in New York *busy at his old trick of watering the stock!*

Why shouldn't criminals like E. H. Harriman be sent to the gallows for murders occasioned by his Criminal Negligence?

Why should rail presidents, managers, and directors be immune from prosecution? They are quick enough to jerk up some little fellow—some signal man, or train dispatcher—and make a scapegoat of *him*; *why shouldn't the real criminals be punished?* The real murderers, in the sight of a just God, are the managers and chief owners of the roads *who refuse to obey the law*, and thus cause these awful losses of human life.

Before you read further than this sentence, turn to the next page, and study the picture of the railroad "accident." You see the engine on the left, the passenger coach on the right, and the group of men between the two. You will recognize the evidences of a mishap; and you get the impression, from the

manner of the men in the foreground, that the center of interest has been something *under the trucks* of the passenger coach.

And such is the case.

There was a man under the trucks.

A few minutes before, an Engineer was standing near the front of that engine, oiling up. He was waiting on the side-track for a passenger train to come and go. But an open switch had set its death-trap, unknown to the Engineer, and when the passenger train came in, *the trap was sprung*, AND IT CAUGHT THE ENGINEER.

Fatally hurt, the poor fellow had lain there under and between the trucks, until help could come, the trucks be pryed up, and the body released from the fatal fangs of the death-trap.

Next will be formed the *mournful* escort,—the escort which takes the dead man home,—and the young wife who said Good-bye, that morning, to a husband who was in the flush and pride of young manhood, will be given what remains of him,—a body all motionless and cold, the light of life gone, the lips answering now no frantic kiss, the ears hearing no more forever the word of love, or the widow's wail of desolation.

He had been blessed with children,—they are fatherless; he had made for himself and family a prosperous home—it is henceforth a house of sorrow, and, perhaps, of destitution.

One moment full of strength, ready and able for Duty, standing at his post, unsuspecting of danger; the next moment a dying man, through no fault of his own, and *through the gross neglect and sordid greed of the corporation which he served.*

* * * * *

Whenever, man, woman, or child is killed at the grade-crossing, *it is murder*, AND SOME RAILROAD MANAGER SHOULD SWING FOR IT.

They *know* that when they pass their railroad across a dirt road, *on a level*, that they are fixing a death-trap; and when human life is lost at such crossings they are liable, before God and Man!—for the awful but natural *consequence of their criminal negligence.*

Whenever a man, woman, or child is killed because of an open switch, *it is murder*, AND SOME RAILROAD MANAGER OUGHT TO SWING FOR IT.

They *know* that there are patented devices *which make the open-switch accident an impossibility*, and when they refuse to equip the road with these automatic appliances, the tragedies which result from this want of prudence are the awful but natural *consequence of their wilful, deliberate, diabolical* PREFERENCE TO SAVE MONEY RATHER THAN HUMAN LIFE.

Why did the railroads keep on killing their own employees,

mashing them to death between freight cars, when they could have avoided the slaughter by equipping their trains with automatic car couplers? Why did they wait till we got after them in Congress; and why did they *then organize a lobby*, under E. B. Stahlman of the L. & N. R. R., to fight the bill?

And why have they been so long about obeying the law after its enactment?

Because they think more of piling up profits for a gang of New York rascals than they do of safe-guarding the lives of men.

Why do the railroads refuse to pass under, or over, the dirt roads, thus abolishing the grade-crossing death-trap?

Why do they refuse to equip the engines with the invention which will *automatically unlock and lock the switch as the engine goes in and out*?

Because they put a higher value upon swollen dividends than upon the engineer, or the passenger, or any other human being.

With a raging lust for money-getting which has no fear of God nor any regard for man, these corporations drive on as relentlessly as the Fates; and they are as deaf to all appeals for mercy, pity, justice and *Right* as a stone god in a pagan temple.

Does it not appall you? Does it stir no leaping pulse, no quickening heart-beat within you! Does no wave of hot indignation pass over your soul, as you think of the man under the trucks?

For years to come, the place where poor Ace Aiken lay in his death-agony, will be pointed out to the curious. Men, women and children will stop a minute to hear the story,—and then pass on, as though it had been one of those things which happen in the natural course of events. It will not occur to them that *the man was murdered*.

If, while some group of people stood looking and listening at the spot where Aiken was killed, some reckless or drunken creature should fire off a pistol or gun in the crowd, killing and wounding, what would happen? *The criminal would swing for it*, though he had not meant to kill, and had no malice in his heart against anyone present. For his *criminal negligence*, he would be punished.

The railroad which refuses to adopt *every known safety appliance*, is GUILTY OF NEGLIGENCE and wherever there is loss of life for lack of such precautions, those whose duty it was to *exercise diligence*, are responsible in law and morals for the *natural consequences of their negligence*.

In such cases, *negligence is a crime; and death, caused by such negligence, is MURDER.*

CHAPTER X.

GREENBACK PARTY.

SECTION 1. With the settlement of the Slavery Question, the vital principle left the Republican Party.

The aristocracy at the North had not sympathized with the abolitionists. The Pharisees of Boston had rancorously opposed the pioneers of that movement.

✓ The rank and file of the people, however, joined the agitation, and the Republican Party in its early days represented a great popular impulse. Its power became irresistible. As soon as the fact was demonstrated, the money-power usurped control of it, made it the means by which their designs were carried out, and, under specious pretenses, enacted laws beneficial to themselves and ruinous to the people.

Under their guidance, the mass of voters which constituted the strength of the Republican Party were led to sanction a financial system they did not comprehend.

The attention of the Northern citizen was kept upon sectional issues. A great noise was kept up over "Secession;" "Amnesty for Jeff. Davis;" "Rebel Brigadiers;" "Southern Outrages on the Negro," etc., etc., and while the voters of the two sections were lashed to fury over these issues, the bondholders stealthily riveted the chains upon white and black laborers alike. For thirty-five years both sections have supported a lot of politicians whose stock in trade is abuse of each other, *in public*, while *in private* they smile over the monstrous humbug by which they retain their power, keep the people divided, and pass the laws which the plutocrats demand.

SECTION 2. The Republicans have been the staunch friends of the National Banking System since they created it, in 1863.

They have championed Protection in its most greedy, tyrannical and corrupt form. They have shamelessly permitted the manufacturers themselves to come into the Committee Room of the Ways and Means Committee and write down just what they wanted. In the McKinley Bill, schedule after schedule was enacted into law, word for word, just as the manufacturers demanded. No wonder they put up the campaign funds by the million. It is only a small percentage of what the Republican Party allows them to wring from the taxpayers.

Mr. Garfield told Prof. A. L. Perry, of Williams College, that while he was on the Ways and Means Committee in Congress "the individuals and delegations who came before the

Committee to get new duties put on, or old ones raised, came with the barest selfishness and without a thought or care, but for the extra price of their products."

SECTION 3. During the War, the Republican Party issued the Greenback as a matter of self-preservation.

The expenses of the Government amounted to one million dollars per day, and there was no gold and silver to be had. The metals are great cowards and always hide during times of danger. The Banks had suspended specie payments, and the Government was compelled to issue legal tender paper money. The history, quality and tendency of this sort of money will be considered hereafter.

It is enough to say that the Greenback sustained the army which preserved the Union.

After the War, the Bankers declared against the Greenback.

Both Democrats and Republicans joined hands in the policy of contraction.

(The stupendous games of the banker, bond-holder, and money-lender, under the criminal policy of *burning the paper-money*, and throwing the country upon a single gold-standard, will be considered in a separate chapter.)

The direct issue of cheap money to the business world was stopped, and the Government compelled the people to receive their National currency through the medium of National Banks, at a ruinous rate of interest.

Together with this policy, went the Refunding System, by which the revenues of sixty millions of citizens have been put into perpetual mortgage for the benefit of a lot of bondholders, who speculated upon the disasters of their country and grew rich on her distress.

On every important vote the Record shows that both Democrats and Republicans obeyed the money power and were partners in guilt.

SEC. 4. At the time when both Democrats and Republicans were thus perfecting a Financial system which would bring into reality the moneyed aristocracy and class rule, of which Alexander Hamilton dreamed and Thomas Jefferson was afraid, there sprang up a revolt among the industrial classes. It took the name of the Greenback Party.

Its National platform of 1878 contains the following Declaration of Principles:

1. That the power to create money is a prerogative of the Government, and that the power to regulate its volume should not be given to any moneyed corporations.

2. That the National Banking System should be abolished, and free legal tender currency substituted in its place.

3. That the Resumption Act of 1875 should be repealed.

4. That equal taxation of all property whatsoever should be imposed.

5. That transportation companies should be controlled, in the interest of fair rates and to the putting down of discriminations, combinations and the granting of rebates to special shippers.

6. That the public land should be held for the actual settler; that subsidies should be discontinued and lands improperly granted, reclaimed; that the hours of labor should be limited; the convict system of prison labor should be abolished.

7. That the demonetization of silver; the contraction of currency; the exception clause in the Greenback; the forced resumption of specie payments, were crimes against the people.

8. That the coinage of silver should be placed upon an equal footing with that of gold.

9. That a graduated Income Tax be imposed.

10. That no monopoly should be legalized.

11. That useless offices should be abolished, and rigid economy enforced in public expenditures.

Viewed with respect to the surroundings, no grander political platform was ever written. The spirit of Jefferson breathes in its every principle.

Bear in mind that up to this time neither Democrats nor Republicans had complained of the demonetization of silver.

That neither party had dared ask for an Income Tax. In 1871 they had joined forces in repealing it.

That neither party was declaring war upon monopoly nor upon railroad spoliation.

That neither party had declared against Resumption. In fact both the old parties were hurling sham denunciations at each other for not "Resuming."

That neither had dared demand equal taxation upon all classes of property.

That neither had dared to utter a word against National Banks, nor to claim that the Government should issue legal tender notes, in proportion to the requirements of trade.

It were a bootless task to explain why the party based upon this splendid assertion of principles failed.

In the eyes of the world it failed—just as Kossuth seemed to fail; just as Grattan, O'Connell and Emmett seemed to fail; just as Wycliffe and Sydney and Wallace seemed to fail; just as the Chartist movement in England and the Revolution of 1789 in France seemed to fail.

As a matter of fact such movements never fail. Put down

they may be; disrupted and dispersed they may be; shivered by cannon or pierced by bayonets they may be—but they never fail!

Great truth once set in motion, is as restless as the sea—more resistless than the tides—more eternal than the hills!

Hungary today lives buoyantly in the Home Rule for which Kossuth fought; the seed bed, prepared by Wycliffe and Huss, germinated the Reformation of Luther; the principle for which Sydney died is now an undisputed truism in all civilized Governments; Scotland was free before Wallace's bones were dust; all save one of the demands made by the Chartists is English Law, this day: fifteen million of French peasant home-owners bless the revolt which struck down the land monopoly and feudal class rule in France; and on the lips of every Irishman on this great earth the battle cry of Emmett still peals forth the call to action; and the great souls of Grattan and O'Connell yet direct policies whose final success no man can doubt!

So the Greenback Movement did not fail. It sowed the seed, and today the golden harvest ripens through all the land. The trend of thought; the sincerity of conviction; the zeal of ardent endeavor which inspires the industrial movement at this hour, are but the offspring of the great upheaval of 1876 and 1878, and of the inquiry it set on foot.

All honor to the old Greenbackers!

No Mayflower ever bore more fruitful cargo across the deep than did the Greenback Platform of 1878.

Even now as in the days of old, the Mailed Knight may lie dead upon the field of battle where his enemies bore him down. But if, indeed, he be a Roland, spotless and brave; if, indeed, he spent his blood for the honor of his flag and his country, then do younger warriors catch the swift inspiration of the example; then, indeed, do they ask to be knighted on the same field by the dead hand of him who seemed to fail; and then, indeed, do they go forth with a zeal no discouragement can dampen, no danger appall, no toil deter.

A thousand Rolands spring up from the example of one; a thousand Kossuths are born through the parentage of one; a thousand Garibaldis live where before there was one; a thousand patriots learn hatred of tyranny where Emmett died; and the principle that the popular will should live in the Law was never so immortal as the day when the blood of Sydney spurted up around the headsman's axe!

CHAPTER XI.

CONTENTS.—THE CLEVELAND MIDNIGHT BOND-DEAL.—A GREAT CRIME IN HIGH FINANCE.

The Wall Street national bankers, in 1888, brought about the election of Benjamin Harrison. Having done so, they naturally thought that Mr. Harrison should help the Morgan syndicate in the carrying out of certain plans which it had made. In short, Wall Street wanted bonds.

They called the Secretary of the Treasury, Charles Foster, over to New York, wined him, dined him, showed him glittering visions, perhaps, and converted him to the necessity of an immediate issue of bonds.

There had been no war; there was no danger of war; there wasn't a cloud upon the horizon. Profound peace prevailed. What reason, then, was there for an issue of bonds?

The President could see none. Harrison was not the biggest man who was ever sent to the White House, but he was honest, stubborn and independent.

When he found out what Foster was about to do, he put his foot down hard, and forbade the issue of bonds. *Foster had gone so far as to prepare the plates on which the bonds were to be printed.*

Balked in their efforts to control Harrison, what did the bond-seekers do?

They knifed Harrison in the next campaign, (1892) threw the victory to Grover Cleveland, *and got the bonds.*

From the very plates which Foster had prepared, and which a Republican President would not allow to be used, were printed those bonds which Cleveland sold to Morgan, Belmont and Rothschild at a midnight conference at the White House. *Morgan, the Republican, got bonds from a Democratic President, and got them for less than the negroes of Jamaica were getting for theirs.* When Rothschild of Paris died, a few years ago, he was found to have been in possession of \$40,000,000 of these bonds.

Altogether, this episode constitutes the darkest and most infamous sell-out of the people that our history presents.

How was the deal worked?

J. P. Morgan, the Republican, and August Belmont, the Democrat, made themselves partners, elected a willing Democrat, instead of an unwilling Republican, and thus steered to success their robbery of the National Treasury.

* * * * *

On the last page of the first volume of Prescott's "Peru" the reader will find a statement which invites attention.

The historian says that after the Spaniards had unearthed the hidden hoards of the Incas, had stripped temple and shrine and had flooded the open market with a swollen current of gold it required the equivalent of \$29,000 to purchase a common horse, \$700 to buy a bottle of wine, \$350 to pay for a pair of boots.

This is nothing more than a vivid historical illustration of the truth that much gold means cheap gold, just as much wheat means cheap wheat. Pizarro had less paper than was needed, more gold than local commerce required—hence Pizarro and his brother marauders paid \$116 for a quire of paper.

Some of these days, when political education takes the place it deserves in the lives of men; some of these days, when our children are taught the rudiments of political economy and social ethics, instead of being everlastingly crammed with Greek and Latin, the average citizen may come to know what a monkey the money-changers make of him in the carrying out of their own selfish plans.

Sparta rose to be a state of the first class on a currency of iron. Rome became mistress of the world on legal-tender copper; silver did not come in, until the Northern barbarian beat down her frontier; gold held no place in the coinage, until the imperialism of the Caesars had taken its lead in her decline and fall.

How did the small island of Britain defeat, and cage at St. Helena the mighty Napoleon, master of Continental Europe? By throwing off the slavery of metallic money; by exerting, as a sovereign, the sovereign power to create money.

Suspending specie payments in 1797, she poured into the channels of trade a hundred millions of her own currency—linen and paper—sent her gold and silver abroad to bribe the kings of the Coalition; continued to hire them to fight, as often as Napoleon could scatter them; wore him out by sheer persistence; sent him to devour his own heart on a bleak rock of the tropics, and put back on the throne of France as worthless a ruler as ever called upon a people to worship "Me and God."

After Waterloo, what?

The money changer had his day. From the time when young Rothschild galloped to the coast to send to London the first news of the victory, and to speculate upon it, the bankers entered into their own; and along the march they made, from expanded currency to the single standard of gold, were strewn more of the wreckage of calamity, more cruelty, more suffering, greater loss in life and property, louder wails of despair,

deeper curses of class hate, than England had ever known in all the years of the Napoleonic struggle.

Go read the Tory, Allison, and note his admissions of the marvellous vigor and prosperity brought to all parts of Great Britain, to all classes, to all industries, by the abundance of money during the era of war.

Go read McKenzie, McCarthy, Knight, Aubrey, or any other historian of the nineteenth century, and study the record of widespread ruin, after the peace—the riots, the pauperism, the bankruptcies, the drying up of the fountains of prosperity everywhere.

What did it?

The soul had left the body, the life blood had been drawn from the veins, the currency had been pumped out of the irrigation ditches of industry, by the government, which bent to the will of the money changer.

Always, everywhere, the money changer is the same; he wants a currency he can limit, control, expand at his pleasure, contract at his behest, thus ruling values with a rod of iron. So it was in England; so it was in the United States.

Fanatics on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line rushed us into civil war. Deaf to reason, blind to consequences, they sowed the soil, broadcast, with the dragon teeth of sectional hatred, and the crop of armed men which sprang up drenched the land with blood.

What enabled the Union armies to prevail?

Go read the confessions of your Northern financiers and statesmen, that they could never have sustained the struggle, but for the Government paper currency which clothed and fed and armed and paid the brave soldiers who followed Thomas and Meade and Grant. Gold, the coward, had run to cover. Silver, the poltroon, had hid its head. National expenses jumped to one million dollars per day, then to two!

Where was the gold to pay it? Where was the supply of "coin" that would have sufficed?

It did not exist.

Spaulding, Chase, Thad Stevens—what did they do in that tremendous emergency?

They had the Government to use its sovereign power to create money, cut loose from dependence upon gold, bank boldly upon the credit of the nation, flood the parched fields of industry with abundant currency, quicken every energy of the North, the East and the West with the life blood of trade; and thus they conquered.

But the money changer—what of him? He never varies. Call him by what name you will, Jew or Gentile, he is the

same. Christ scourged him from the temple, and Abraham Lincoln said he ought to have his "infernal head shot off."

The Government had to live, hence paper money had to be issued. The highest court in the land has said, that the power to create money out of paper was a constitutional grant.

But the banker, willing that the soldier who shed his blood for the Union should be paid in paper, never intended that such a currency should be good enough for himself.

Over the indignant protest of Thad Stevens, Congress discriminated against the soldier, specially favored the banker, and declared that the Government's paper should not be good money, when pay-day arrived for the bondholder. Good enough to pay the farmer for his wheat, good enough to pay the manufacturer for his cloth, good enough for the sailor who fought with Farragut or the trooper who fought with Grant, it was not good enough for the money changer, who skulked in the rear and speculated upon the miseries of his country. The bondholder must be paid in coin—hence the famous "exception clause" in the Greenback law.

Having told the world that Government paper should be inferior to "coin," Congress could not have been greatly astonished to see paper currency sink below "coin", in the markets; and to prove how closely it studied the interests of the capitalist, the same Congress gave him the right to collect the depreciated paper and to exchange his paper at par for more bonds!

Thus went the mighty national merry-go-round. Unprivileged millions of common people used paper money, every hive of industry hummed with it, and the banker's vaults fattened on bonds.

The war ends; vast armies are disbanded; the soldier is paid off in seven-thirty paper notes; and the musket is laid aside for the hammer, the trowel, the spade, the axe, the plough.

The soldier has saved the Union; he has been the chief actor in the tragedy; he now steps off the stage, and the money changer goes on. The "exception clause" has poured into his coffers practically the entire visible supply of gold and silver. The import duties are exacted in "coin", in order that the bondholder's interest can be paid in coin; and no capitalist pays for bonds, when he can get them with depreciated paper.

Thus the money changer has all the bonds and all the coin. Now what?

As long as that mighty reservoir of paper currency—eighteen hundred millions or more—sends its irrigating streams to the uttermost parts of the Republic, the smaller hoard of metallic currency is powerless to assume a mastery.

Money is abundant, is cheap, is free, is competitive, is beyond arbitrary control.

This will never do. The quantity must be lessened; thus its value will increase. And as population and business increase, the necessities of the industrial world will bring it to the feet of the banker. Plain? Of course it is plain: if you want to see it, you see it.

Observe Congress; observe the Secretary of the Treasury; observe both political parties. At one fell swoop, the notes which paid off the army are called in and destroyed! As fast as clerks can toss them into the furnace, they are burned—never to be reissued.

Year in and year out, the deadly process goes on—the money of the common people being called in and destroyed, until thirteen hundred millions of the paper currency has gone into the fiery furnace.

Is it any wonder that prices sunk, industry languished, bankruptcies multiplied? Is it any marvel that panics tore their way from ocean to ocean, desolating, destroying?

At last, at last, public indignation spurred Congress to action, and in 1878 the contraction of the currency was halted.

The snake was scotched, not killed. Wall Street bided its time. "Let well enough alone for awhile; Rome was not built in a day."

So it rested, until John Sherman, by a mere treasury ruling, set aside gold reserve of \$100,000,000 for the redemption of the greenbacks which had escaped the furnace.

What act of Congress authorized this gold reserve?

None whatever.

What law, what custom, what reason demanded it?

None whatever.

It was a mere ruling of a subordinate officer of the Government—an officer who was regarded as peculiarly the agent, representative and willing tool of the Rothschilds of London and the money kings of New York. So far as the law was concerned, the reserve could just as legally have been made of silver. Or it could have been made of half gold and half silver. So far as the law was concerned, no reserve need have been set apart at all.

It was only necessary that the Government should have enough "coin" on hand to redeem the greenback when presented; and as long as the Treasury reports showed that the Government had surplus funds by the million for the free use of pet banks, nobody was likely to doubt its ability to redeem that small sum of greenbacks.

A government, vested with the power to tax sixty billions of property, was never in any danger from three hundred and

forty-six millions of greenbacks. That hundred million dollar gold reserve served no earthly purpose, except to keep that much good money out of circulation. Locked up in the Treasury, it cannot compete with the gold of the banker—hence his friendship for those who hold it there.

No fair-minded man on this continent will refuse to admit that the greenbacks would circulate just as well, if there wasn't a dollar of gold reserve.

Redeem the greenback? Nobody ever wanted it redeemed, until it was found that they could be used to compel an issue of bonds.

Hungering for another Presidential nomination, Grover Cleveland in 1904, attempted to explain his issuance of \$262,000,000 in bonds; and the foundation upon which he base his labored defence was a mis-statement of the law.

Mr. Cleveland says throughout his article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, that the act of Congress for the resumption of specie payments required the greenbacks to be "redeemed in gold." Time and again he repeats this statement.

Nevertheless it is untrue. He, a New York lawyer, confessed that he did not know of the existence of the bond-issue law, until J. P. Morgan called his attention to it.

Probably it did not suit the purpose of Mr. Morgan to remind him of another provision of the same act; but when the President "turned to the statutes and read the section", it is just a little bit queer that he did not read the entire act.

Had he done so, he would never have published the amazing statement that the act required greenbacks to be "redeemed in gold." As plain as print can be, the words are, that the greenbacks are to be redeemed in coin—legal-tender coin—the gold and silver of the Constitution and the laws.

It was not until the latter part of 1882, that Congress gave its implied sanction to the gold-reserve ruling of John Sherman, by directing that the issuance of gold certificates should cease when the reserve fell below the sum which Sherman had arbitrarily named. Even then the law-making power did not declare that anything more should be done than to stop the issuance of certificates.

If Congress had thought that other steps were needed, why did not Congress say so?

While Mr. Cleveland was guessing at legislative intentions, why couldn't he have guessed that Congress meant no more than it said? Why was he so anxious to wring out of that statute a meaning so grateful to his former clients, J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.?

But let us concede, for the sake of argument, that Cleveland construed the statute as Congress meant it, how was he to dis-

pense with the legislative power, and give to his former clients the bonds they wanted?

There was no deficit in the Treasury; there were no matured debts which we were unable to pay; there was neither war nor rumor of war. How was he to start about giving Wall Street those bonds which public opinion vehemently suspects were promised before the election?

How was he to dodge Congress, forestall the people, load the taxpayers with debt and give the money changer a heavy mortgage upon the Republic?

By making a ruling which was brother to John Sherman's ruling, both rulings being lineal descendants of the contraction policy which was checked, but not slain, in 1878; by ruling that governmental notes which were payable in coin, should be redeemed in gold, only; by surrendering to the money changer, the *option* which the law vested in the Government; by giving to Wall Street both ends of the financial rope, until he himself cried out! "My God! the bankers have got the country by the leg!"

Since civilized government was founded on this earth, when were a people so completely delivered over to the bond grabbers? When and where was a national treasury ever so looted?

With a thousand dollars in paper, a thousand dollars in gold was pulled out of the Treasury; the paper was immediately reissued; it pulled out another thousand in gold; again issued, it pulled out more gold, until the gold reserve cried aloud for succor, whereupon a bond issue from the Treasury, goes forth to seek the gold and bring it back into the Treasury, where it cannot stay, because of the ruling, that "coin" shall mean gold, if Wall Street so desires. Endless chain; endless power to the money changer; endless impotence in the Government; endless burden to the taxpayers.

Why was it that the "gold reserve" gave us no trouble under Harrison? Why was it harmless under Cleveland's first administration?

The true reason is that "coin" still meant coin, and the scheme for compelling the issue of bonds, by the endless-chain process, had not been conceived.

While Mr. Cleveland was guessing at the meaning of the act of 1890, why did he not attempt to discover what Congress meant by directing that, after July, 1891, the Secretary of the Treasury should "coin as much of the silver bullion purchased under this act as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for?" Was there any legislative meaning in these words?

Would it be unreasonable to suppose that Congress meant what it said? If so, the law intended that the silver notes

should be redeemed by silver coins. Therefore, Mr. Cleveland violated the plain letter of the law, when he redeemed those notes with gold.

In vain did Mr. Cleveland seek to find excuse for his bonds. To speak of "financial credit" and our "fair fame" is all poppy-cock, when it is recalled that there was no strain whatever upon our credit and no smirch threatened to our "fair fame." To say that one improves his credit by running into debt and mortgaging his estate, is a theory which could only occur to a President (a lawyer at that) who takes his knowledge of the statutes from J. P. Morgan.

Does France know anything about "financial credit" and "fair fame"? Has she not been through the deep valley, amid the thick darkness, and then mounted the highlands again, where all is light?

Consider what that wonderful people accomplished. Hurling to the almost bottomless pit of disaster by the corruptest government modern Europe has known; pressed down by German bayonets and by a war indemnity of a billion dollars in gold—how did she save herself from utter ruin?

By cutting down the rotten tree of misgovernment; putting the helm of state into the hands of practical, honest, able men; treating gold and silver as equals; reserving to the Government the option of paying in either silver or gold, as it saw fit, and supplementing metallic money with a paper currency.

Thus France paid Germany her billion dollars; thus the "parity" of the two metals was maintained; thus her credit and fair fame were vindicated. The lesson might have been worth something to Mr. Cleveland, had he been looking for lessons; but inasmuch as his former partner, Stetson, was ready to write and witness the contract by which their client, the Morgan firm, was to get bonds at a lower figure than they could have bought the bonds of the little negro country of Jamaica. Cleveland had no time for lessons. Bonds—quick, secret, cheap—cheaper than the bonds of many a New England village!

Consider the picture! The New York law-firm of Cleveland, Stetson & Co.; the Wall Street clients, J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.; then one of the law partners becomes President and authorizes the contract, which the other partner witnesses, and by which the clients get the bonds.

Mr. Cleveland jauntily alludes to Belmont and Morgan as his "accomplices in crime." The words are well chosen.

When he entered into that secret dicker with the bond syndicate to give them a profit of ten million, eight hundred thousand dollars, on that first lot of bonds, he was merely taking one more step in that programme of special favors which had

revealed itself in his deposit, free of interest, of fifty-nine millions of the people's money with the pet bankers; his lavishing upon the same class sixty millions in premiums on unmatured bonds; his desperate struggle to repeal the Sherman silver purchase act; his refusal to allow the seigniorage silver used and his repeated recommendations, through his secretaries, that the remainder of the greenbacks be destroyed

No, no; Cleveland hadn't got "the silver craze": not he. Washington had it; Hamilton had it; Jefferson had it; Jackson, Benton, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Lincoln—they all had it. They all believed in the equality of both silver and gold for money.

President Cleveland was free from the hearsy. He believed that the banker should be allowed to supply the only paper currency; that he should be given the credit of the Government in the shape of a bond; and upon this bond all paper money should be issued to the people, who will pay high rates of interest to get it.

The people pay the interest on the bonds; they also pay those taxes which the holder of the bond is not required to pay, and they pay the interest on the currency issued on the bond.

Thus the banker catches 'em on all sides, in every direction, going and coming. Instead of a hundred millions in bonds, bearing interest and concentrating untaxed wealth in the hands of a few, why should not the Government issue a hundred millions of one-dollar greenbacks, costing nobody any interest, circulating among the many as messengers of mercy, stimulants to industry, advance couriers of progress?

Why should the Government abdicate its sovereign function of creating currency, on equal terms for all, and delegate that tremendous power to a class, which will inevitably use it for selfish purposes?

You may preach about abuses here and wrongs yonder, but until the Government resumes its sovereign control of the currency and returns to the constitutional system of the fathers, "the leg" of the country will remain where Cleveland put it—in the hands of the bankers—and whenever they want to pull it, the Government is helpless.

But for the unexpected influx of Klondike and other gold, and the discovery of the process for working low-grade ores, this country would in all human probability have been plunged into ruinous conditions. Even now prosperity is far from being general, and the needs of a just distribution of wealth are sorely felt.

Unsound, unjust, unbalanced, our financial system is a menace which is just as sure to crash down upon the people as the laws of nature are to remain in force.

Under our complex commercial system, where money is the breath of life, when you give it control to the banker, you have made him monarch of all he surveys—king of the mill and the mine, the field and the forge, the railroad and the ship combine, the sea and the land.

If he wants a panic, he will give you one—as in 1893. If he wants prices to go up, he expands his circulation. If he wants them to go down, he contracts. He makes and unmakes Governors, Judges, Presidents. He makes and unmakes laws. If statutes get in his way, so much the worse for the statutes.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY: 1896.

The manner in which the Morgan-Belmont-Rothschild combination punished Harrison for his disobedience, sunk its lesson deep in the hearts of the Republican politicians, and the next President whose way they cashed to the White House, was warranted to be "safe and sane."

President McKinley was an amiable man, but a more pliant tool of plutocracy never lived. He was a bankrupt, and was selected by Mark Hanna to win back the confidence and the support of the money-kings of Wall Street.

Republicans of Wall Street had helped to elect Cleveland when Harrison refused to be their tool.

And Democrats of Wall Street helped to elect the Republican President who succeeded Cleveland. John A. McCall, President of the New York Life Insurance Company, one of the most powerful Democrats in the North, stated under oath that he helped McKinley with money. Fifty thousand dollars was his contribution to the campaign funds of the Republican Party.

That's the way the game is played.

Money buys the Presidency for the candidate who will do the bidding of *Money*.

Democratic money-kings want the same privileges, favors, monopolies, franchises that Republican money-kings want, and there is *never* a division among *them*. They divide the people into two warring camps and they control the leaders of both camps. If a Republican President kicks over the traces, they take him out of harness and hook up a safe and sane Democrat. If a Democrat is nominated on a platform which they do not like, they throw influence and money to elect the Republican.

The big Democrats of the insurance companies, the metropolitan banks, the railroad corporations and the protected industries, all contributed to Mark Hanna's slush fund which elected the well-broken-go-all-the-gaits McKinley.

And they would do it again!

The big Republican financiers who were turned down by President Harrison contributed to the election of a *safe and sane Democrat* to succeed him—

And they would do it again!

* * * * *

Special Privilege, corporate greed, concentrated wealth, are divided throughout the Union between those who call themselves Republicans and those who call themselves Democrats, but the difference in the name will not forever succeed in hiding from the people the fact that *Democrats of that sort* want exactly the same government favors which are demanded by *Republicans of that sort*. Who controls the national machinery of the Republican Party? Republicans who fatten on Special Privilege, embody corporate greed, revel in concentrated wealth.

In each of them we find the men who, under forms of Law, come down from their splendid castles of special privilege and levy tribute upon Commerce, upon Agriculture, upon Labor.

At all cross-roads of trade they halt the producer and he must "stand and deliver"—for the Law commands it.

Infinitely more complete than any federation of Freebooters; infinitely more cruel than any nation of Buccaneers; infinitely more voracious than any horde of Goths or Vandals, they meet the toiler in every field of labor and plunder him of his reward.

Through cunningly devised tax systems, bond systems, currency systems, bank systems, transportation systems, wage systems, these modern Highwaymen get boundless booty with minimum risk.

In the olden days, if one chose to fight for his purse he had the chance. That was a risk the robber must run.

They have improved the plan. The traveller must shell out without the liberty of resistance.

The only man who can travel the Highway of Modern Commerce without being plundered, is he who has already been robbed by Tax Laws or Wage Systems before he took the road.

Under Tariff Systems a tax is laid upon every article the laborer uses and the proceeds put into the pocket of his employer; under the right to levy freight rates to suit themselves, the corporations put their hands into the toll dish of every business and takes out all but the "nest egg." The "nest egg" is left to encourage the hen.

Under the Banking and Bonded Systems, all the Roads of Produce lead to the Rome of Imperial Plutocracy, and the ends of the earth may be sought without finding any place where the tyranny is not felt.

Every trust is made up of both Republicans and Democrats.

That is the way they organize every other predatory money-grabbing scheme—*part Democrat and part Republican*. The idea is to have friends at court, no matter which of the two parties is in power.

In the campaign of 1892 the Sugar Trust contributed \$240,000 to the Democratic fund in New York State alone. After Cleveland was elected, the Trust got a change in the tariff that was worth \$45,000,000 to the Trust. Thus the campaign debt of Cleveland was paid by the people who bought higher-priced sugar.

* * * * *

Will the time never come when the people who compose the rank and file of both these old parties will realize that the game, played by such players, is one in which the common people can win no stakes?

Such players will always play into each other's hands.

A fight over the offices there may be, and will be; but *never* a fight over principles.

In each of the old parties we find the protected classes; the few who fatten on special privilege; the Untaxed Capitalist; the Favored Bondholder; the Professional Corruptionist; the Unscrupulous Ring; the Greedy Combine; the Heartless Trust.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTENTS.—PARTY PLATFORMS. THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANS. THE JACKSONIAN DEMOCRATS. WHIGS. DEMOCRATS. ABOLITIONISTS, OR FREE SOLDIERS. REPUBLICANS.

SECTION 1. The principles of the Jeffersonian Republicans have already been outlined.

The subsequent adoption of these principles (in substance) by the Jacksonian Democrats will now be shown.

Let the reader bear in mind the Federalist principles of Hamilton and he will be able to trace them into the platforms of both Republicans and Democrats at a later time.

SECTION 2. Jackson Democrats.

"The election of General Jackson," says Thomas H. Benton, (Democrat) "was a triumph of Democratic principles and an assertion of the people's right to govern themselves. It was also a triumph over the Protective policy, the Internal Improvements policy, the loose construction of the Constitution of the Democracy over the Federalists, and was the re-establishment of the parties on Principle, according to the landmarks of the early ages of the Government."

In Jackson's first Message, he declared against Internal Improvements.

Also, against Re-chartering the National Bank.

He vetoed the Bill for the Re-Charter in 1832. His veto killed the Bill.

In 1833 he removed the Deposits from the Bank and put them in State Banks.

The National Bank had become a factor in politics, was using its money to corrupt politicians, subsidize newspapers, and plunder the people.

Hon. W. L. Wilson (Democrat) in his able work, "The National Democratic Party," says:

"Thus ended his memorable struggle with the Bank. The power it displayed in this contest must always be a justification of its overthrow. It had become a danger to Democratic institutions. * * * Its continued existence would be at the expense of the people and in diminution of their pecuniary and political rights. Before it grew too great, Jackson throttled it."

Where is the Democratic hero today who dares "throttle" the National Banks which have sprung up since then, and which are thriving "at the expense of the people and in diminution of their pecuniary and political rights?"

Why, bless your soul, the National Bankers are now the Democratic Bosses, and rule the roost, from Wall Street to every country town.

During Jackson's second term, the Compromise Tariff of 1833 was passed.

Its Preamble declared that "after March 3, 1840, all duties should be equal, and solely for the purpose of providing such revenue as may be necessary to an economical expenditure by the Government *without regard to Protection or encouragement of any bounty of domestic industry whatever.*"

After July 1, 1842, there should be a uniform Tariff of 20 per cent.

In 1836 there was a surplus in the Treasury. By Act of January 1, 1837, it was provided that all Surplus Revenues exceeding \$5,000,000 should be divided among the States, *as a loan* to be recalled by direction of Congress.

Under this law some \$28,000,000 were distributed among the States.

In 1888 the Democrats again had a surplus.

Did they divide it among the States? By no means.

They divided it among the bondholders. They squandered \$60,000,000 in paying premiums on bonds, not due, at a time when there was unprecedented distress among the tax-payers to whom that surplus belonged.

I have thus dwelt on Jackson's preaching and practice of Democracy in order that it may be fairly compared with the Tammany Hall Democracy of the present era.

Many an editor, many a stump orator, many a cross road politician, many a ward-heeler, cries, "Hurrah for Andrew Jackson Democracy," without having the faintest idea that he is thereby condemning himself and his modern, bank-ridden, class-ruled Democracy.

WHIG PLATFORMS.

The Cardinal Principles of the Whigs may be fairly stated, thus:

1. Protection to American Manufacturers.
2. Support of the National Banks.
3. A general system of Internal Improvements.
4. A distribution among the States of the proceeds of Sales of Public Lands.
5. Wise economy in the Public Service.
6. A single term for the Presidency, to prevent executive usurpation.
7. The Reserved Rights of the States.

Even under the brilliant leadership of Clay and Webster,

this party went down. National Banks and High Tariffs were loads too heavy (in those days) even for giants such as they.

The Democratic Platform of 1840 is, as follows:

1st. *Resolved.* That the Federal Government is one of limited powers.

2nd. That Internal Improvements are unconstitutional.

3rd. That assumption of State Debts by the Government is unconstitutional.

4th. That the Government should not foster one industry at the expense of another. Equal rights should be accorded to all.

5th. That economy in the Public Service should prevail.

6th. That Congress has no power to charter Banks; that they are of "deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to Republican institutions and to the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country in the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people."

7th. That Congress has no power to interfere with slavery.

8th. Demands that public moneys shall be taken out of the Banks.

9th. Reaffirms the Principles of the Declaration of Independence.

Let the student compare this Platform with that of the same Party in 1876 or 1888.

The Democratic Platform of 1844 was a repetition of the foregoing, with the following additions:

1st. That Proceeds of Public Lands should not be divided among the States, but should be applied by Congress to the National objects specified in the Constitution.

2nd. Opposes the taking of the Veto power from the President. Asserts that this Veto power "has thrice saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States."

3rd. Demands the re-occupation of Oregon and the re-annexation of Texas.

The Democratic Platform of 1848 is the same as the preceding, with these additions:

4. Reaffirms the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1797 and 1798.

A further series of Resolutions follows on the Kansas-Nebraska question.

Then comes this golden nugget:

"The time has come for the people of the United States to

declare themselves in favor of Free Seas and progressive *Free Trade* throughout the world."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM 1852:

1st. The Veto power is commended for the additional reason that it has saved the American people "from a corrupting system of general Internal Improvements."

2nd. Approves the Mexican War; desires peace, and applauds the splendid services of the soldiers.

3rd. Congratulates France upon her recent Revolution; remembers that Washington and LaFayette fought side by side; re-asserts the right of the people to rule; denounces legislation which favors the few at the expense of the many.

4th. *Congratulates the country upon Polk's election, which defeats the "declared purposes of their opponents (the Whigs) in creating a National Bank."*

Also upon "*the noble impulse given to Free Trade by the Repeal of the Tariff of 1842* and the enactment of the more equal, honest and productive Tariff of 1846."

The Democratic Platform of 1852 was a repetition of the foregoing on all material questions. Declares rather more strongly in favor of Slavery.

THE PLATFORM OF 1856.

(Buchanan Ticket.)

1. Declares its trust in the people—denounces the creed and practice of Federalism.

2. Declares Internal Improvements unconstitutional.

3. Denounces the Assumption of State Debts.

4. Denounces the fostering of one industry at the expense of another. Demands equal rights.

5. Demands Economy.

6. Demand that Proceeds of Public Lands be applied to National objects, and not divided among the States.

7. Denounces National Banks in strongest terms.

8. Demands separation of Public Moneys from the Banks.

9. Defends the Veto power for the reasons previously given.

10. Approves the Declaration of Independence, and favors unrestricted immigration.

Among the additional Resolutions are these:

1. Denouncing the Abolitionists.

2. Declares resistance to further slavery agitation.

The Platform of 1860 re-affirms that of 1850, with the *Free Trade Plank*. Pledges Government aid to the Pacific Rail Road.

Demands the purchase of Cuba.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1868.

(Seymour & Blair Ticket.)

Demands Equal Taxation on all Property, including Bonds.

Demands that Soldiers and Pensioners be paid in as good money as Bondholders.

Demands economy; amnesty for political offences; regulation of the elective franchise by the States; the restoration of all the State to their rights in the Union.

Declares that the Bonds should be paid in lawful money of the United States, and not paid in coin alone, unless so specified in the contract.

Declares the subordination of the Military to the Civil Authorities.

Declares in favor of Tariff for Revenue.

Demands a discontinuance of the "Inquisitorial Modes of Assessing and Collecting Internal Revenue."

As the Income Tax was collected in this manner, the words would seem to demand a Repeal of that Tax. The millionaires have always alleged that it was very "Inquisitorial."

Can laborers and tenants get rid of tax by saying it is "Inquisitorial?"

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1872.

(The Greeley Ticket.)

1. Declares for the equality of all Men before the Law without regard to race or color.

2. Declares in favor of maintaining Emancipation and the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

3. Demands removal of political disabilities.

4. Demands Civil Service Reform.

6. Dodges the Tariff Question and nervously begs that the people fight it out among themselves "in their Congressional Districts."

7. Denounces Repudiation.

8. Demands a Resumption of Specie Payments.

9. Gives taffy to the Soldiers.

10. Demands the stoppage of Land Grants to Rail Roads and the holding of Public domain for actual settlers.

The horse being already gone and the thief secure, the accomplices of the robber solemnly declare that the stable door must and shall be locked!

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1876.

(Tilden & Hendricks.)

Arraigns the Republicans as usual.

Declares for the Banker thus: "We denounce the failure for all these eleven years of peace to make good the promise of the Legal Tender Notes which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation."

Denounces the Republicans for not resuming Specie Payments and for not hoarding gold and silver, to pay off and retire the greenbacks.

Denounces "the present" Tariff. It is always the "other fellow" whose Tariff is wrong.

"Our Tariff" is always right—an unmixed blessing and a fountain of joy.

Demands frugality and reduction of Taxation and the stoppage of the waste of public land.

Demands Civil Service Reform, and that an end be put to sectional issues.

Demands "care, protection and gratitude" for the soldiers, their widows and orphans.

Accuses high officials of using their offices corruptly for private gain.

It is remarkable that this Platform utters no word of condemnation of the demonetization of silver which took place in 1873 and 1874.

It utters no word of condemnation of the contraction of currency or repeal of the income tax.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1880.

(Hancock & English.)

Reaffirms Platform of 1876.

Declares against Sumptuary Laws; in favor of Common Schools, Home Rule, Tariff for Revenue only.

Demands "Honest money, consisting of gold, silver and paper, convertible into coin on demand."

Mr. English, the nominee for Vice-President, was a National Banker.

Declares for Free Ballot.

Demands Civil Service Reform.

Demands Free Ships, and against the discrimination of transportation lines, companies, and monopolies.

Declares against Chinese immigration; in favor of "Public money for public purposes, and land for actual settlers."

Assures the laborer it will protect him against the cormorants and the commune.

A list of the cormorants is not furnished.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1884.

Claims credit over the Republicans for its liberal pensions to the sailors.

Blames the Republicans for not protecting the manufacturers.

Arraigns the Republicans for not removing War Taxes.

Declares for Custom House Taxation; heavy on luxuries; lightest on necessities.

Denounces, as usual, "the present" Tariff.

Declares that the Internal Revenue Taxes should be made a fund to defray the expenses "of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers, disabled in line of duty."

Declares against Legal Tender Greenback Money, by saying, "we believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium, *convertible into such money* without loss."

Declares for equality before Law, regardless of color.

Declares for a Free Ballot and a Fair Count.

Opposes Sumptuary Laws "which vex the citizen."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1888.

(Cleveland Ticket.)

Adopts Platform of 1884.

Cleveland's Tariff Reform Message accepted as the true Tariff doctrine.

Boasts that Cleveland's Administration has paid out more money "for pensions and bounties to the Soldiers and Sailors of the Republic than was ever paid before during an equal period."

Protests against excessive Taxation. Promises a "fair and careful" Reform of the Tariff.

Demands Civil Service Reform. Favors Common Schools.

Declares against Chinese immigration, monopolies, waste of Public Lands and extravagance.

Let the student now turn back and compare the later Democratic Platforms with the earlier ones. Let him compare that of 1884 or 1888 with that of 1856—or with that of 1844, or with that of Andrew Jackson. He will then be able to measure the distance the Democratic Party to today is from its ancient landmarks.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1892.

(Cleveland, Again.)

SECTION 1. The representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm their allegiance to the principles of the party as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by the long and illustrious line of his successors in Democratic leadership, from Madison to Cleveland; we believe the public welfare demands that these principles be applied to the conduct of the Federal Government, through the accession to power of the party that advocates them; and we solemnly declare that the need of a return to these fundamental principles of a free popular government, based on home rule and individual liberty, was never more urgent than now, when the tendency to centralize all power at the Federal capital has become a menace to the reserved rights of the States that strikes at the very roots of our Government, under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic.

(2) Denounces Republicans for extravagance, and Federal centralization. Great alarm expressed. Monarchy rising upon ruins of democracy. Fearful consequences predicted, as result of Republican policies.

SECTION 3. We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no Constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of the Government when honestly and economically administered.

We denounce the McKinley tariff law enacted by the Fifty-first Congress as the culminating atrocity of class legislation; we indorse the efforts made by the Democrats of the present Congress to modify its most oppressive features in the direction of free raw materials and cheaper manufactured goods that enter into general consumption, and we promise its repeal as one of the beneficent results that will follow the action of the people in intrusting power to the Democratic party. Since the McKinley tariff went into operation there have been ten reductions of the wages of the laboring men to one increase. We deny that there has been any increase of prosperity to the country since that tariff went into operation, and we point to the dullness and distress, to the wage reductions and strikes in

the iron trade, as the best possible evidence that no such prosperity has resulted from the McKinley Act.

We call the attention of thoughtful Americans to the fact that after thirty years of restrictive taxes against the importation of foreign wealth in exchange for our agricultural surplus, the homes and farms of the country have become burdened with a real estate mortgage debt of over \$2,500,000,000, exclusive of all other forms of indebtedness; that in one of the chief agricultural States of the West there appears a real estate-mortgage debt averaging \$165 capita of the total population and that similar conditions and tendencies are shown to exist in the other agricultural exporting States. We denounce a policy which fosters no industry so much as it does that of the sheriff.

(4) Favors reciprocity; (5) Abhors Trusts and combinations; (6) Wants the remnant of public land regions reserved, and (7) declares for Bimetallism, as follows:

SECTION 7. We denounce the Republican legislation known as the Sherman Act of 1890 as a cowardly makeshift, fraught with possibilities of danger in the future which should make all of its supporters, as well as its author, anxious for its speedy repeal. We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or change for mintage; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar, at all times, in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin. We insist upon this policy as especially necessary for the protection of the farmers and the laboring classes, the first and most defenseless victims of unstable money and a fluctuating currency.

TAX ON STATE BANKS.

SEC. 8. We recommend that the prohibitory 10 per cent. tax on State bank issues be repealed.

CIVIL SERVICE.

SEC. 9. Public office is a public trust. We reaffirm the declaration of the Democratic National Convention of 1876 for the reform of the civil service, and we call for the honest enforcement of all laws regulating the same. The nomination of a President, as in the recent Republican convention, by delegations composed largely of his appointees holding office

at his pleasure, is a scandalous satire upon free popular institutions, and a startling illustration of the methods by which a President may gratify his ambition. We denounce a policy under which Federal officeholders usurp control of party conventions in the States, and we pledge the Democratic party to the reform of these and all other abuses which threaten individual liberty and local self-government.

IMMIGRATION.

SEC. 12. We heartily approve all legitimate efforts to prevent the United States from being used as the dumping ground for the known criminals and professional paupers of Europe, and we demand the rigid enforcement of the laws against Chinese immigration, or the importation of foreign labor which will compete with American labor and lessen its wages; but we condemn and denounce any and all attempts to restrict the immigration of the industrious and worthy of foreign lands.

Education: Popular education being the only safe basis of popular suffrage we recommend to the several States most liberal appropriations for the public schools. Free common schools are the nursery of good government, and they have always received the fostering care of the Democratic party, which favors every means of increasing intelligence. Freedom of education, being an essential of civil and religious liberty as well as a necessity for the development of intelligence, must not be interfered with under any pretext whatever. We are opposed to State interference with parental rights and rights of conscience in the education of children as an infringement of the fundamental Democratic doctrine that the largest individual liberty consistent with the rights of others insures the highest type of American citizenship and the best government.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1896.

(Bryan, First Time.)

Still in favor of the most virtuous Jeffersonian principles, and still resolute in friendship for the common folks,

On finance, the following views were expressed:

THE MONEY PLANK.

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the

silver dollar the monetary unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873 demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

INTEREST-BEARING BONDS.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with banking syndicates, which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

AGAINST NATIONAL BANKS.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private

debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin.

TARIFF RESOLUTION.

We hold that tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the Union.

Other planks pledged the party to war upon Trusts and Pools; upon wasteful expenditure of public money; upon Federal encroachment in State affairs; and upon the Third-term idea.

Declarations in favor of Pensions, admission of Territories, etc., were adopted.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1900.

(Bryan, Again.)

(1.) Country can't last if Republicans stay in office. Nation can't live half-empire and half republic. Appeal made for Constitutional laws and government.

Subjugation of Philippines denounced. Demand made for their independence. Monroe Doctrine upheld.

MILITARISM OPPOSED.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation, and will be a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription.

THE NATIONAL GUARD.

In time of danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coeval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic, and unrepubli-

and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

War upon Trusts, promised, private monopolies denounced, Free-list remedy proposed, as sure to lower prices of products sold by the trusts.

CORPORATE INTERFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people, or to control the sovereignty which creates them, should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

THE DINGLEY TARIFF LAW.

We condemn the Dingley tariff as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few, favors which they do not deserve, and to place upon the many, burdens which they should not bear.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the Interstate Commerce law as will enable the Commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

THE SILVER DECLARATION.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

THE CURRENCY BILL DENOUNCED.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national-bank currency, secured by Government bonds, must have a

permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase, the debt must also increase. The Republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt.

We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national-bank notes as fast as Government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

INJUNCTIONS, BLACKLIST, AND ARBITRATION.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist, and favor arbitration as a means of setting disputes between corporations and their employees.

Department of Labor proposed the usual denunciation of Republican extravagance.

Free institutions demand that Democrats be placed in power.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1904.

(Parker and Gold-Standard.)

The application of these fundamental principles to the living issues of the day is the first step toward the assured peace, safety, and progress of our nation. Freedom of the press, of conscience, and of speech; equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury; freedom of the person defended by the writ of habeas corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammelled by sumptuary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well-disciplined militia; the separation of church and state; economy in expenditures; low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics—these are doctrines which Democracy has established as proverbs of the nation, and they should be constantly invoked and enforced.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

We favor enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and

labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred," and no less "unalienable" than the rights of capital.

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES.

Constitutional guarantees are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations, or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished.

We deny the right of any executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official.

The military should be used only to support and maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial, or for the control of elections.

THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION.

The existing Republican Administration has been spasmodic, erratic, sensational, spectacular, and arbitrary. It has made itself a satire upon the settled practices and usages of national and international law.

It summoned the Congress into hasty and futile extra session, and vividly adjourned it, leaving behind in its flight from Washington uncalled calendars and unaccomplished tasks.

It made war, which is the sole power of Congress, without its authority, thereby usurping one of its fundamental prerogatives. It violated a plain statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages and constitutional law; and has done so under pretense of executing a great public policy, which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally, and with honor.

It forced strained and unnatural constructions upon statutes, usurping judicial interpretation and substituting Congressional enactment.

It withdrew from Congress their customary duties of investigation which have heretofore made the representatives of the people and the States the terror of evil doers.

It conducted a secretive investigation of its own and boasted of a few sample convictions, while it threw a broad coverlet over the bureaus which had been their chosen field of operative abuses, and kept in power the superior officers under whose administration the crimes had been committed.

It ordered assaults upon some monopolies, but, paralyzed by its first victory, it flung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not "run amuck"—leaving its future purpose beclouded by its vacillations.

The remainder of the platform is about the same as that of the Republicans, and I have not room for both. (See Rep. Plat. 1904.)

A peculiar feature of the Democratic document is, that it has a sub-head "*SCHOOL AND RACE QUESTION*", and then omits mention of *schools*. Was it intentional, or did the Roman Catholic bosses order its omission?

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1908.

(Bryan, Third Time.)

Usual declaration pure purposes and patriotic principles.

Scores Republicans for increase in offices.

Expresses horror at Republican waste of public money.

Same old declarations about the Tariff, and Trusts, etc.

Demands an Income Tax.

Also, popular election of Senators, Demands the conservation of natural resources.

BANKING.

The panic of 1907, coming without any legitimate excuse, when the Republican party had for a decade been in complete control of the Federal Government, furnishes additional proof that it is either unwilling or incompetent to protect the interests of the general public. It has so linked the country to Wall Street that the sins of the speculators are visited upon the whole people. While refusing to rescue the wealth producers from spoliation at the hands of the stock gamblers and speculators in farm products, it has deposited Treasury funds, without interest and without competition in favorite banks. It has used an emergency for which it is largely responsible to force through Congress a bill changing the basis of bank currency and inviting market manipulation, and has failed to give to the 15,000,000 depositors of the country protection in their savings.

We believe that in so far as the needs of commerce require an emergency currency, such currency should be issued and controlled by the Federal Government, and loaned on adequate security to national and State banks. We pledge ourselves to legislation under which the national banks shall be required to establish a guaranty fund for the prompt payment of the depositors of any insolvent national bank, under an equitable

system which should be available to all State banking institutions wishing to use it.

We favor a postal savings bank if the guaranteed bank can not be secured, and believe that it should be so constituted as to keep the deposited money in the communities where the depositors live. But we condemn the policy of the Republican party in proposing postal savings banks under a plan of conduct by which they will aggregate the deposits of the rural communities and deposit the same while under Government charge in the banks of Wall Street, thus depleting the circulating medium of the producing regions and unjustly favoring the speculative markets.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1912.

(Professor Woodrow Wilson.)

The Democratic convention of 1912 was held at Baltimore, Md., June 25-July 3.

Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, was nominated for President and Thomas R. Marshall, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice President.

The following platform was adopted:

"We, the representatives of the Democratic Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of democratic government formulated by Thomas Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

TARIFF REFORM.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the unequal distribution of wealth. It is a system of taxation which makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Under its operations the American farmer and laboring man are the chief sufferers. It raises the cost of the necessities of life to them, but does not protect their product of wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the

laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions and not by the tariff.

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

We denounce the action of President Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metal, and chemical schedules and the farmers' free-list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

The Republican Party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interest; and having been faithless to its pledges of 1908, it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the Nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican Party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff.

The Tariff is held responsible for this sudden rise in the cost of living and the Republicans are severely arraigned for their failure to prosecute and destroy the Trusts, under the Sherman law.

RIGHTS OF THE STATES.

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the federal government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds, and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the States of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the States of any of the rights reserved to them and to enlarge and magnify by indirection the powers of the Federal Government.

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the Government, both State and National, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the Government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the Nation and the State in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the Federal Government shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that Federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to, and not substituted for, State remedies.

INCOME TAX AND POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax and the amendment providing for the popular election of Senators, and we call upon the people of all the States to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

"Profligate waste" of public money by Republicans vehemently condemned. Return to Jeffersonian simplicity demanded.

RAILROADS, EXPRESS COMPANIES, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will effectually prohibit the railroads, express, telegraph, and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers or patrons, also legislation preventing the over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines, and legislation which

will assure such reductions in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

BANKING LEGISLATION.

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank; and we believe the people of the country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or dominion by what is known as the Money Trust.

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public, and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing Government funds in a few favored banks, etc.

LAW REFORM.

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense, and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

THE PHILIPPINES.

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

RURAL CREDITS.

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

THE RUSSIAN TREATY.

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic Members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our Government which does not recognize that of all of our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, and which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

Parcels Post system favored: also extension of Rural Free Delivery.

The conclusion will long be remembered, because it was so completely falsified by Wilson's administration:

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign, and we invite the cooperation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1916.

The Democratic party, in National Convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be appraised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs:

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping pledges, and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administration, long the refuge of the Money Trust, has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve act, a true democracy of credit under Government control already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry, and making a currency panic impossible.

We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely succeed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the working man the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added 10,000 rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history placed the post-office system on a self-supporting basis with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

AMERICANISM.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest

of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, *religious* or other nature creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

We, therefore, condemn as a subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a *foreign power*, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representation in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which in view of the activity of such conspirators surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.

Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety and of the protection of the nation's rights,

the fullest development of modern methods of sea coast defense, and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which the United States hopes and expects to take part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FARMER.

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present Administration—far more than under any previous administration. In the Federal Reserve act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits act of the present Congress the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, and he has at last been put upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises. Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established, or are in the course of being established by law. The long-needed cotton futures act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A grain grades bill, long needed, and a permissive warehouse bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Both houses have passed a good roads measure, which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substitut-

ing scientific for empirical farming. But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisites for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created. We approve the Democratic Administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance, for creating the office of markets and rural organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture and for extending the co-operative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations. We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

GOOD ROADS.

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life, and the development of the city are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT.

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should, both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

First—A living wage for all employes.

Second—A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.

Third—The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.

Fourth—Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.

Fifth—The standard of the "uniform child labor law" wherever minors are employed.

Sixth—Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.

Seventh—An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles

should be urged and applied in the legislation of the states with regard to labor within their borders and that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved.

LABOR.

We declare our faith in the Seamen's act passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement.

We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal child labor law and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a Federal bureau of safety in the Department of Labor to gather facts concerning industrial hazards and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means, already begun under the present Administration to assist laborers throughout the nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension by the Federal Government by the same assistance and encouragement as is now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

MEXICO.

The Monroe Doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the more scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly state. Until, by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last re-

sort. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. We heartily indorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be made to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION.

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development, but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, and we reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject."

In reference to the foregoing virtuous declarations, it may as well be stated here as elsewhere that they reek with deceit and mendacity.

The National Banking system has been perpetuated: the bill, which the Republicans framed but could not pass, was slightly changed by the Democrats and passed: bonds amounting to \$700,000,000, bearing 2 per cent. interest, are being retired, and their place taken by a new issue of the same amount bearing 3 per cent interest.

Whereas the Republican administration charged the banks 2 per cent. interest upon Government deposits, the Wilson administration makes the deposits free of interest.

During the awful stringency of 1914, when cotton went down to 5 and 6 cents a pound, the Democratic administration loaned the speculators more than \$300,000,000 at 3 per cent., and with this "emergency currency" the gamblers bought the cotton which the farmers were unable to hold.

The Government created an Insurance Bureau for the benefit of the speculators, and insured at \$70. a bale, the cotton which the gamblers had just bought at \$30.

By financing the speculators and refusing aid to the farmers, the producers were robbed of \$400,000,000 by the non-producers.

The so-called Rural Credits offered the farmer allow the *land-owner* to crawl to the National banker and ask *him* for a loan. No *government loan* is made to the landlord, and no sort of loan is provided for the tenant.

More than 2,000 new offices have been created, annual expenses enormously increased, the cost of living made greater by the fake-reform of the Underwood Tariff; railroad rates advanced by the Interstate Commerce Commission at the request of the President, a huge standing army called into existence, designs adopted for the greatest of navies; the States arbitrarily and illegally deprived of the control of the militia; the Pope's right to politically counsel the President recognized; Papal chaplains given the status of officers in the military and naval service, their numbers growing rapidly; the diplomatic service filled with Romanists; the Departments, Customhouses, Postoffices, Public printing, and the most confidential and powerful position next to the President *perfidiously surrendered to the foreign church whose laws are in deadly conflict with our own.*

As to the cowardice shown by Wilson's administration when Germany murdered our citizens on the ocean, and the hectoring insolence with which the same administration treated Mexico, *that* will be treated fully in another place.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORMS.

SECTION 4.—Abolition Platform, 1852.

In the Platform of 1852 the Independent Democrats, who were afterwards called Republicans, declared:

1. That Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the Governed.

2. That the true mission of American Democracy is to maintain the liberties of the people by the adherence to the

principle of equal rights, strict justice and economical administration.

3. That the Federal Government is one of limited powers.

4. That the Government has no more power to make a Slave than to make a King.

5. That the demands of the slave power for more slave States and the nationalization of slavery must be answered by the sentiment, "No more Slave States; no nationalized slavery."

6. That Slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man.

7. Denounces Fugitive Slave Law.

8. That human Laws are always subject to modification.

9. Denounces the Compromise Measures of 1840.

10. Demands that the National Government cease to protect Slavery, and leave it to the States and to the State Laws.

11. Declares that all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; that this is a sacred right.

12. Public lands should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people.

13. That Government Funds should be kept out of banking institutions.

14. Favors River and Harbor Improvements.

15. Favors Unrestricted Immigration.

"We inscribe upon our banner, Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

SECTION 5.—The Republican Platform, 1856.

1. Denies the right of Congress to give legal existence to

2. Declares that Congress should prohibit Slavery in the Territories—also Polygamy.

3. Denounces the "Crime against Kansas."

4. Demands the admission of Kansas as a State, with her free Constitution.

5. Denounces the Ostend Circular.

6. Demands Government Aid to the Pacific Rail Roads.

7. Favors "Internal Improvements."

8. Invites co-operation from all parties.

Republican Platform, 1860, reaffirms the foregoing.

Deals mostly with Slavery issues.

Declares for Protection.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1864.

Deals chiefly with War Issues.

Does not forget that Pacific Rail Road.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1868.

1. Congratulates on success of Re-construction.
 2. Guarantees equal suffrage to all.
 3. Demands Repudiation and demands fullest payment of the Public Debt.
 4. Demands equal Taxation.
 5. Demands extension of time in payment of National Debt, at lower rate of interest.
 6. Wants our Credit improved, to encourage capitalists to lend us money at lower rates.
 7. Demands Economy.
- Declares for liberal Pensions; Just Immigration Laws.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1872.

Congratulates itself on its achievements.
 Among other things, its grants to the Pacific Railroad.
 Opposes further grants of Public Lands to Corporations.
 Declares for Protection.
 Favors speedy Resumption of Specie Payments.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1876.

Demands Specie Payments.
 Favors Public Schools.
 Favors Tariff.
 Opposes grants of land to Corporations.
 Declares against Polygamy.
 Declares that the "Woman's Right's" question should be "treated with respectful consideration."
 Declares for liberal Pensions.
 Deplores Sectional feelings.
 Denounces the Democrats as usual.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1880.

Is substantially the same as the others. Is more rhetorical, and sounds more like a stump speech; but, in substance, is the same old "seven and six."

It is proud that it has restored the "payment in coin of all National obligations."

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1884.

Declares its purpose of regulating Rail Road rates by Inter-State Commerce Laws.
 Declares that this is a Nation—with a capital N.
 Demands Free Ballot and Fair Count.

Stands by the Tariff; says a good word for the sheep, and promises to spend the Surplus.

Which, by the assistance of the Democrats, they did.

Favors a wise system of general education.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1888.

Denounces the Democrats for Demonetizing Silver.

Each of the old Parties denounced the other for a crime in which both participated and which for twenty years had gone unpunished and unatoned for.

Denounces the lending of Government money without interest to "Pet Banks" by the Democrats.

Demands Civil Service Reform.

Declares for Free Public Schools.

Denounces Polygamy.

Demands an increased Navy.

Demands restoration of unearned Land Grants, and that the Public Domain be kept for settlers.

Declares against Chinese Immigration.

Demands Reduced Postage on Letters.

Protests against Free Ships.

Renews its pledges to preserve the Protective System; denounces the Mills Bill; promises to remove Taxes from Whiskey and Tobacco; declares against Trusts; demands liberal Pensions.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM, 1892.

Since it repeats the principles of 1888, I will quote its plank on Education, which plank was afterwards dropped at the threats of Archbishop John Ireland who declared it to be an "insult" to Roman Catholics:

FREE SCHOOLS.

In a Republic like ours, where the citizen is the sovereign and the official the servant, where no power is exercised except by the will of the people, it is important that the sovereign—the people—should possess intelligence. The free

school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us a free nation; therefore the State or nation, or both combined, should support free institutions of learning sufficient to afford to every child growing up in the land the opportunity of a good common school education.

The platform declares in favor of "protection" to manufacturers, and also of Reciprocity.

Declares for "free and safe coinage of gold and silver."

Favors restricted Immigration. Condemns Trusts, which of course the protective system spawns.

Declares for rural free delivery of mails.

Favors the Nicaragua Canal, and the reclamation of arid lands.

FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among all men. We therefore declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land; but, while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of church and state.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1896.

Denounces Cleveland's administration.

Renews allegiance to the Tariff. Declares for a Merchant Marine, which Tariff and Navigation laws had wiped out.

Declares for "sound money."

Renews endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine, its demand for a strong Navy, and its advocacy of independence for Cuba.

Other planks are as follows:

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute book by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced, and extended wherever practicable.

FREE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

LYNCHINGS.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice well known as lynching, or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

HOMESTEADS.

We believe in an immediate return to the free-homestead policy of the Republican party and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1900.

Indorses McKinley's administration.

Claims that the War with Spain gave ten million folks "a new birth of freedom."

Wars humanity against the Democratic party.

Again demands restricted immigration.

MONETARY LEGISLATION.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress, by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met, in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is today.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER OPPOSED.

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be

considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

TRUSTS.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

Pledges support to the Protective system; Claims to thus protect American labor.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1904.

Much the same as that of the previous campaign.

Takes credit for the revolution in the State Militia system.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1908.

No material change, and no material difference from the Democratic platform of same year. In fact, no one could tell what definite issues either Parker (in 1904) or Bryan, in 1908, ran on, although they pretended to differ from the Republicans in their speeches.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1912.

Usual proud pointing to the party record.

Parcel Post demanded.

More battleships needed.

Conservation policy urged.

Favors creation of Tariff Board and Federal Trade Commission. Wilson's administration created both.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1916.

Resembles its predecessors and does not essentially differ from that of the Democrats.

At present, there does not seem to be any serious denial if

the fact that both these old parties are controlled by the same Privileged Interests, and for the same selfish purposes. Ruled by the Rich, they stand for legislation which inevitably make the rich richer, at the expense of the producers who create the wealth.

The Ocala Platform of the Farmers' Alliance.—We demand the abolition of National Banks.

We demand that the Government shall establish Sub-Treasuries or Depositories in the several States, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest not to exceed two per cent. per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of the land and amount of money.

We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

That we demand that Congress shall pass such laws as will effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; providing a stringent system of procedure in trials that will secure the prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.

We condemn the Silver Bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of Silver.

We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by Rail Roads and other Corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government, and held for actual settlers only.

Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand—

a. That our National Legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.

b. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy Tariff Tax from the necessities of life, that the poor of our land must have.

c. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on Incomes.

d. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all National and State revenue shall be limited

to the necessary expenses of the Government economically and honestly administered.

We demand the most rigid, honest and just State and National Government control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each State.

Platform of the People's Party of the United States of America, Adopted at Cincinnati, O., May 20, 1892.—1. That in view of the great social, industrial and economical revolution now dawning upon the civilized world, and the new and living issues confronting the American people, we believe that the time has arrived for a crystallization of the political reform forces of our country and the formation of what should be known as the People's Party of the United States of America.

2. That we most heartily endorse the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889, Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and Omaha, Neb., in 1891, by the industrial organizations there represented, summarized as follows:

a. The right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit, hence we demand the abolition of National Banks, as Banks of issue, and as a substitute for National Bank Notes we demand that the Legal Tender Treasury Notes be issued in sufficient volume to transact the business of the country on a cash basis, without damage or special advantage to any class or calling, such notes to be Legal Tender in payment of all debts, public and private, and such notes, when demanded by the people, shall be loaned to them at not more than two per cent. per annum upon non-perishable products as indicated in the Sub-Treasury plan, and also upon real estate, with proper limitation upon the quantity of land and amount of money.

b. We demand the free and unlimited coinage of Silver.

c. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting aliens and foreign syndicates, and that all land held by Rail Roads and other Corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only.

d. Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand that taxation—National,

State or Municipal—shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another.

e. We demand that all revenues—National, State or County—shall be limited to the necessary expense of the Government economically and honestly administered.

f. We demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on Incomes.

g. We demand the most rigid, honest and just National control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuses now existing, we demand the Government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.

h. We demand the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

POPULISTS, 1904.

The Populist National Convention met at Springfield, Ill., on July 4. E. H. Weller, of Iowa, was elected temporary Chairman, and J. M. Mallette, of Texas, permanent Chairman. On July 5, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated for President on the first ballot. The vote stood 334 for Watson, 319 for William V. Allen, of Nebraska, and 45 for Frank H. Williams, of Illinois. After some changes to Watson he was declared the unanimous choice of the Convention. T. B. Tibbles, of Nebraska, was nominated for Vice-President. He received on the first ballot 453 votes, to 74½ for George F. Burnham, of Massachusetts, and 53½ for Theodore B. Rynder, of Pennsylvania.

THE PLATFORM.

The platform, adopted on July 5, was as follows:

The People's Party reaffirms its adherence to the basic truths of the Omaha platform of 1892, and of the subsequent platforms of 1896 and 1900. In session in its forth National Convention on July 4, 1904, in the city of Springfield, Ill., it draws inspiration from the day that saw the birth of the nation as well as its own birth as a party, and also from the soul of him who lived at its present place of meeting. We renew our allegiance to the old fashioned American spirit that gave this nation existence and made it distinctive among the peoples of the earth. We again sound the keynote of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal in a political sense, which was the sense in which that instrument, being a political document, intended that the utterance should be understood. We assert that the departure from this fundamental truth is responsible for the ills from which we suffer as a nation, that

the giving of special privileges to the few has enabled them to dominate the many, thereby tending to destroy the political equality which is the cornerstone of democratic government.

MILITARISM.—We call for a return to the truths of the fathers, and we vigorously protest against the spirit of Mammonism and of thinly veiled monarchy that is invading certain sections of our national life, and of the very administration itself. This is a nation of peace, and we deplore the appeal to the spirit of force and militarism which is shown in ill advised and vainglorious boasting and in more harmful ways in the denial of the rights of man under martial law.

TRANSPORTATION MONOPOLY.—A political democracy and an industrial despotism cannot exist side by side; and nowhere is this truth more plainly shown than in the gigantic transportation monopolies which have bred all sorts of kindred trusts, subverted the governments of many of the States, and established their official agents in the National Government. We submit that it is better for the Government to own the railroads than for the railroads to own the Government, and that one or the other alternative seems inevitable.

We call the attention of our fellow citizens to the fact that the surrender of both of the old parties to corporative influences leaves the People's Party the only party of reform in the nation.

Therefore we submit the following platform of principles to the American people:

MONEY AND BANKS.—The issuing of money is a function of government, and should never be delegated to corporations or individuals. The Constitution gives to Congress alone power to issue money and regulate its value.

We therefore demand that all money shall be issued by the Government in such quantity as shall maintain a stability in prices, every dollar to be full legal tender, none of which shall be a debt redeemable in other money.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people.

LABOR QUESTIONS.—We believe in the right of labor to organize for the benefit and protection of those who toil; and pledge the efforts of the People's Party to preserve this right inviolate. Capital is organized and has no right to deny to labor the privilege which it claims for itself. We feel that intelligent organization of labor is essential; that it raises the standard of workmanship, promotes the efficiency, intelligence, independence and character of the wage earner. We believe with Abraham Lincoln that labor is prior to capital, and is not

its slave, but its companion, and we plead for that broad spirit of toleration and justice which will promote industrial peace through the observance of the principles of voluntary arbitration.

We favor the enactment of legislation looking to the improvement of conditions for wage earners, the abolition of child labor, the suppression of sweat shops and of convict labor in competition with free labor, and the exclusion from American shores of foreign pauper labor.

We favor the shorter workday, and declare that if eight hours constitutes a day's labor in Government service, eight hours should constitute a day's labor in factories, workshops and mines.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.—As a means of placing all public questions directly under the control of the people, we demand that legal provision be made under which the people may exercise the initiative, referendum and proportional representation and direct vote for all public officers with the right of recall.

Land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is a heritage of all the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited.

We demand a return to the original interpretation of the Constitution and a fair and impartial enforcement of laws under it, and denounce government by injunction and imprisonment without the right of trial by jury.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.—To prevent unjust discrimination and monopoly the Government should own and control the railroads and those public utilities which in their nature are monopolies. To perfect the postal service, the Government should own and operate the general telegraph and telephone systems and provide a parcels post.

As to those trusts and monopolies which are not public utilities or natural monopolies we demand that those special privileges which they now enjoy, and which alone enable them to exist, should be immediately withdrawn. Corporations, being the creatures of government, should be subjected to such governmental regulations and control as will adequately protect the public. We demand the taxation of monopoly privileges, while they remain in private hands, to the extent of the value of the privileges granted.

We demand that Congress shall enact a general law uniformly regulating the power and duties of all incorporated companies doing inter-state business.

CHAPTER XIII.

SLAVERY, AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, FINANCE, AND POLITICS, NORTH AND SOUTH.

In 1860, Thomas Prentice Kettell, late Editor of the "Democratic Review," published a book under the title of "Southern Wealth and Northern Profits." As the War Between the States was then threatened, and the stormiest of political campaigns was raging, it is not probable that the book exercised any influence over public opinion.

Nevertheless, it is a work of patient research and serious thought, containing a mass of material now lost, or not within reach of the average man. This will be my excuse for including much of it in this Handbook, which I hope will not only be useful to the common run of readers, but also to the *students* of economics, and political history.

In his Preface, the author says, that at the close of the Revolutionary War, the population of the exhausted Colonies—States—was 3,172,464. There were 751,363 black slaves. The government was heavily in debt, and the people without capital!

In the year 1800, the national wealth was assessed for taxation at \$619,000,000.

It startles one to think that John D. Rockefeller is worth nearly double what the Thirteen States owned, 116 years ago. The Railroads now clear *a thousand million dollars*, a year; and the Steel Trust twice as much. But *the people* are still "without capital", although they are the greatest wealth producers the world ever knew.

The officially assessed wealth of the United States in 1850, and-1858, is given as follows:

	1850	1858
North	\$3,093,833,338	\$3,436,180,318
West	1,022,948,262	2,111,233,345
South	2,947,781,366	4,620,617,504

The seven billions of 1850 had grown to ten, in 1858; and, while the North had but slightly increased her wealth, *the South had nearly doubled hers!*

The author points out that labor is the source of all wealth, and that capital is *the surplus* of production over consumption. As every one knows slavery came into the world almost at the beginning; and its origin was, *the desire of the stronger man to compel some weaker man to work for him.*

The author calls attention to the historic fact that Europe—on account of its soil—was unfitted to slave labor. The

feudal lords who owned the serfs rarely had a surplus of *cash*; and that is the main reason why these mail-clad lords made a practice of robbing the merchant as he passed from town to town. The feudal lords had the land and the serfs, but the money-lender and the merchant had the cash.

It's that way yet.

In those days, the Jews were the money-lenders, and the feudal lords often captured them, took them to the castle, and gave them the option of parting with duets, or with teeth. Generally, the Jew opened his wallet and gave up the money, thus saving his molars. Nowadays, the Jew plays the same safe game he always did, but *we* have lost the art of pulling his teeth.

In the course of time, the feudal lords came to see that a white man could produce more wealth when free, and *apparently* working for himself.

Therefore, the serfs were gradually emancipated, and the gentle lords merely took their surplus by levying tithes, taxes, and rents. The freed serf, of course, had to live, but beyond a living he saved little, because the church took a tenth, and the remainder went for rent and taxes.

The new system saved the gentle lords the expense of supporting the serf when sick, or worn out with age; and the lord no longer owed to the vassal the duty *to protect him*. Thus the former serf enjoyed the luxury belonging to a master, without seeming to do so. Our working classes enjoy the same luxury, today.

Under the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, the old system of serfage which feudalism and the Roman Church had maintained for ages, was wiped out, completely (1574), and slavery, of the visible sort, has never since prevailed in England.

Sixty years before—or in 1514—King Henry VIII. had emancipated two of his serfs, and his language in doing so reads like our Declaration of Independence:

"Whereas, originally, God created all men free; but afterward the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude, we think it pious and meritorious with God, to make certain persons absolutely free from servitude who are at present under villenage to us; wherefore we do now accordingly manumit and free from yoke of servitude Henry Knight, a tailor, and John Erle, a husbandman, our slaves, as being born in our manor of Stoke Clymmy Slande, in our county of Cornwall, together with all their issue born or hereafter to be born, so as the said two persons, with their issue, shall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free and of free condition."—*Faedera*, V., xiii., p. 470.

Mr. Kettell gives an interesting sketch of the slave trade:

"The use which England made of that discovery was to prosecute it during 274 years, of which 5,000,000 negroes were caught and put on board. Nearly all the *commercial wealth of England at this day is due to those negroes*. But that was not the only cause of the rapid increase of British wealth in the last century. During countless ages there had existed 200,000,000 laborious and frugal slaves to local despots in India, when Clive, with the vanguard of the English, burst in upon them, in 1756. Those people had accumulated fabulous wealth; and the instant the English took possession, the transfer of that wealth to England commenced. Numberless individuals were sent thither to be enriched, and they returned to England in great numbers, with vast fortunes. The property so transferred has been estimated, on data afforded by the India trade, at 2,000 millions of dollars, from the battle of Plassy, 1757, to 1830. The mere operations of the India Company were as nothing compared with the wealth acquired by England in this transfer of private fortunes. This process was simultaneous with the vigorous prosecution of the slave-trade, which gave such vast capital to the British Islands.

In the year 1561, Sir John Hawkins fitted out three vessels, of 40, 60, and 120 tons, with English goods, for Guinea, where he exchanged the goods for negroes, sold the latter in Hispaniola, and brought home hides, sugar, and ginger. This was the origin of that immense trade which England prosecuted with such success during 274 years. The profits in 1689 were already so large, and the trade had so extended the English marine, that a convention was held in London, by which England undertook to supply the Spanish West Indies with slaves. From that time the trade took large dimensions. In 1713 the South Sea Company contracted to supply 4800 negroes per annum, for 30 years. The enormous development of the trade may be estimated from an official letter of General O'Hara, Governor of Senegambia, in 1760. It states that for 50 years past there had been shipped from the country "70,000 negroes per annum of its inhabitants," whence he concludes the great population of the continent. In the year 1768, a British report gives the number shipped for that year, from the west coast of Africa, between Cape Blanco and Rio Congo, at 97,100, of which 53,100 were by British, and 6,700 by American vessels.

Under the convention with Spain the Island of Jamaica became a great depot, and the island progressed as follows:

	Negroes		Population	
	Imported	Exported	White	Black
1702			7,644	
to 1752	152,328			
to 1762	229,443	45,705	15,000	146,464
to 1774	497,736	137,114	16,000	220,000
to 1787	609,241	166,076	23,000	256,000
to 1791	708,318			
to 1807	1,128,400		37,152	373,405

These figures are from various British official reports. In 1719 a duty of 5s. per head was laid on the import into Jamaica; in 1720 it was raised to 10s., and 20s. on exportation. In 1774 the number of blacks in the island had become alarmingly large, and there was imposed a duty of £2 10s., and raised to £5 before the close of the year. This excited the opposition of the English slave-traders, and on their appeal to Parliament the duty was abrogated. That movement, however, caused an inquiry by Parliament into the slave-trade, and the movement, gathering force and strength by the example of the United States, in prohibiting the slave-trade after 1808, finally resulted in its prohibition by Parliament, in 1897. Thus ended the traffic that had been begun by the British in 1561. The results of this traffic upon British wealth are easily estimated. As seen above, there were imported into Jamaica, in the 18th century, 1,128,400 blacks, selling at an average, by official tables, of £30 each. The number imported in the 140 years up to the 18th century is put at 600,000, and into all other colonies at 1,000,000; making, together, 2,728,400 negroes; which, at £30 each, realized £81,852,000, or \$450,000,000: but if each black produced, during his life, but 8 times his own cost, the amount of wealth sent to England was 3600 millions of dollars, or a sum exceeding the present national debt. In estimating the value of the island in 1788, the commercial export value was put down at £5,400,000; and 12 years' purchase gave £64,600,000 as the value of the island. That rate, for 100 years, gives £540,000,000, and at half the rate for the previous 170 years, the aggregate would be £810,000,000, or 4000 millions dollars. We have, then, the following results of the India and slave operations of the 18th century:

Realized from India	\$2,000,000,000
Realized from slaves and islands	3,600,000,000
Total capital	\$5,600,000,000

This vast capital poured into the lap of England was the source of its greatness and of the sudden development of power

and wealth which took date from the middle of the 18th century.

The effects of this capital become surprising when we turn to the British population tables.

Population of England and Wales.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
1086	1,000,000
1670	6,000,000
1695	8,000,000
1700	6,134,516
1750	6,039,684
1770	7,227,586
1790	8,540,738
1800	8,894,536
1850	17,907,409

The population, for 1086, is that of Domesday book; that of 1695 is by d'Avenant. The figures for the 18th century are in "Porter's Progress," vol. i., page 14. The result is, that up to the close of the 18th century, the population of England and Wales was stationary. It required 700 years to rise from one to five millions, showing the severe struggles for life the people had, until the wealth we have pointed out flowed in upon them. That wealth stimulated industry of all kinds, and, aided by inventions, has so improved the condition of the people, that the population gained more in the first 50 years of the present century, 15 of them of war, than in the previous 800 years.

Although England discontinued the slave-trade in 1807, it was not until 30 years later that slavery was abolished. The islands had become stocked with laborers, and the false principle was assumed, that, as the whites had become more industrious and productive in a state of freedom than in a state of slavery, the blacks would do so also, and thus develop a large market for goods. This idea, in connection with the fact that the British system of slavery was enormously expensive for the suppression of insurrection, brought about emancipation. After enslaving negroes for 274 years, they discovered that the black was a "man and a brother." They freed him, petted him, encouraged him; the papers and preachers lied for him. They said, if he did not work, it was only the natural rest that one generation wanted, after the fatigues of their progenitors. A singularly long rest, certainly, and a new generation has shown a disposition to prolong the rest, while ruin stares them in the face. At last, after 25 years' experience, the *London Times*, which worked so hard to bring about abolition, finally breaks down as follows:

"There is no blinking the truth. Years of bitter experience;

years of hope deferred; of self-devotion unrequited; of poverty; of humiliation; of prayers unanswered; of sufferings derided; of insults unresented; of contumely patiently endured, have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out loudly and energetically, despite the wild mockings of 'howling cant.' The freed West India slave will not till the soil for wages; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes, and plantains—those satisfy his wants; he cares not for yours. Cotton, sugar, coffee, and tobacco, he cares but little for. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery, and plants, which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned beggary and debt. He eats his yams, and sniggers at 'Buckra.'

"We know not why this should be, but it is so. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English taxation and English toil. He has been redeemed from bondage by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen. Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer, of every degree, to fashion the West India negro into a 'free, independent laborer.' 'Free and independent' enough he has become, God knows, but laborer he is not; and, so far as we can see, never will be. He will sing hymns and quote texts, but honest, steady industry he not only detests, but despises. We wish to Heaven that some people in England—neither government people, nor parsons, nor clergymen, but some just-minded, honest-hearted, and clear-sighted men—would go out to some of the islands (say Jamaica, Dominica, or Antigua),—not for a month, or three months, but for a year, would watch the precious *protege* of English philanthropy, the freed negro, in his daily habits; would watch him as he lazily plants his little squatting; would see him as he proudly rejects agricultural or domestic services, or accepts it only at wages ludicrously disproportionate to the value of his work. We wish, too, they would watch him, while, with a hide thicker than a hippopotamus, and a body to which fervid heat is a comfort rather than an annoyance, he droningly lounges over the prescribed task, over which the intrepid Englishman, uninured to the burning sun, consumes his impatient energy, and too often sacrifices his life. We wish they would go out and view the negro in all the blazonry of his idleness, his pride, his ingratitude, contemptuously sneering at the industry of that race which made him free, and then come home and teach the memorable lesson of

their experience to the fanatics who have perverted him into what he is."

The great wealth acquired by England from slavery and India enabled her to carry through the wars with Napoleon, and to put in motion the vast machinery which now manufactures clothing for the world. It will be observed that simultaneously with the receipts of the slave and India money began the credit system. The fortunes so derived were loaned to the government, and William began the national debt. That debt was for the most part spent in England, employing labor, but creating a moneyed aristocracy which draws \$150,000,000 yearly from the people.

The supplies of blacks in the colonies were large, at a time when there was no work like that of the cotton culture to give unlimited expansion to their labor, and they were becoming a burden. The cessation of the slave-trade caused a reaction, and the demand for more labor has since increased to a positive inconvenience. When British philanthropy, taking a lesson from "old Hal" and "Bess," adopted the idea of investing in negro freedom, it simultaneously set to work to operate upon the northern classes, in New England, and that in the true Jesuit style. That sagacious body of men always educated youth in the principles they meant to spread. The Exeter Hall Jesuits did not neglect that mode. The religious sentiment of New England caused Sunday schools to become very popular in that section, and through those Exeter Hall operated. Teachers were found, who, by tracts, precepts, lectures, readings, and inculcations of all sorts, impressed the youthful mind of the North with those sentiments, which they foresaw would, at no distant day, produce fruits. The leaders of British aristocracy are foremost in recognizing the first budding of that stem, which, if it produces only an apple of discord in this detested Republic, will have repaid the care in planting. Until party politics discovered the use which could be made of the sentiment thus long and laboriously sown and nurtured, it was harmless. Singularly enough, however, that Providence which formed the black slave and his white master, and which so strangely interposes at times for the salvation of the Union, has caused to be demonstrated the slave nature of the black, through the experiment of England, at the very moment their machinations have brought the Union into danger.

We have seen how rapidly the population and wealth of England, after slumbering for 700 years, began to develop itself under the influence of slave-acquired capital. The American Union presents a similar marvel, and from a similar cause. The bands of pilgrims who made settlements in different parts of the country, early in the 17th century, had slowly multi-

plied their numbers up to the era of Independence. In 170 years, up to 1790, the Pilgrims of New England had increased to 1,000,823 souls; and in the same period—that is, from the settlement of the colonies to the settlement of the federal compact—the number in all the colonies had reached only to 3,331,730 white souls, and the blacks, under the active supply kept up by the British merchants, had only reached 617,817. The capital of the country had hardly increased even in the slow ratio of the population; on the other hand, the colonies came out of the war exhausted. The moment the separation took place, however, New England became, to the South and slave-labor, what Britain had been. The population and wealth of the country have since advanced in a ratio which, in 50 years, had made the former equal to that of England, while, if the wealth is not so great in the aggregate, it is better distributed, because a greater number of manufacturers participate in the profits of slave-labor.

The North American colonies were supplied with slaves by England, who drew thence the produce of their labor. While 600,000 slaves were at work raising produce to send to England, she did not permit manufactories, and the colonies, after 200 years of servitude, presented the same aspect as the West Indies. An enormous wealth had been produced here, but it was conveyed to England, leaving the place of production as poor as ever. It is urged, sometimes, that emancipation did not injure Jamaica, since it was ruined before that event. That is no doubt true. It had been used only as an *instrument*, and, after 200 years' labor, it still retained only worn-out land and negroes. The North American colonies were in the same position. The wealth they had produced, ornaments London and gilds St. James's. The dilapidated towns of Jamaica shelter idle negroes, who live on the spontaneous products of the earth, while they relapse into barbarism. The American colonies were equally exhausted after 200 years of industry, but the 600,000 blacks have since been made steadily to produce an increased ratio of wealth, even as their numbers have swollen to 4,000,000; and, instead of ruin, they vie with the mother country in prosperity. The American colonies had insisted upon a cessation of the slave-trade, because they were overrun with blacks for whom they had no adequate employment. The crown refused. The separation took place, and from that moment the New England States assumed the position, in regard to slavery, which Great Britain had previously occupied. The New England States owned the shipping, and enjoyed the slave-trade. They accumulated capital in both; and when the convention met to frame the Constitution, it was as a concession to New England interests that the trade was

continued to 1808. The Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt, travelling in the United States in 1795, remarks:

"Nearly 20 vessels from the harbors of the northern States are employed in the importation of negroes to Georgia and the West India isles. The merchants of Rhode Island are the conductors of this accursed traffic, which they are determined to persevere in until the year 1808, the period fixed for its final termination. They ship one negro for every ton burden."

The fisheries, the export of lumber and fish to the West Indies in exchange for sugar and molasses, the carrying of tobacco, indigo, etc., from the South to England, thence to Africa, and home with a cargo of slaves, were the chief means of employing the shipping of the New England and the Middle States, which were owners of nearly all the shipping of the Union. If the French wars, by throwing the carrying trade into the hands of neutrals, were a great benefit to the ship-owners as well as to the farmers of the middle States, the difficulties that led to the embargo of 1809, and subsequently the war of 1812, were felt only the more severely by that interest, since the slave-trade and the carrying trade were lost together, and the war was denounced as the cause of all the difficulties that resulted. It followed that the large capital that had been accumulated in that trade, thus forcibly driven from commerce, betook itself to manufacturing, and the "free traders" of New England became clamorous for "protection." Since then the capital earned in commerce and in the slave-trade has enjoyed a monopoly of navigating, importing, and manufacturing for the South, getting large pay swollen by protective duties, in the proceeds of slave-labor. In the mean time, if the South had ceased to employ northern shipping for the importation of negroes, it began to furnish a much more extensive employment for it in the exportation of cotton.

Under the system of Reserves, cunningly introduced into the National banking code, the money of the whole Republic tends to concentrate in New York. (This is explained elsewhere in the Handbook).

How the same thing was done, before the War Between the States, is explained by Mr. Kettell:

BANKING.

Banking, in its legitimate commercial character, is confined to the utilizing of funds, which, without its intervention, would for a certain time remain idle in the hands of merchants and dealers. Thus, if we suppose a certain number of persons being possessed of means, buy a quantity of goods to sell again, they will immediately be in the receipt of money from the sales

of a portion of their goods. What each thus receives he would keep by him until it became necessary again to purchase. In this manner, the aggregate amount lying idle in the hands of all, would be very large. The contrivance of a common depository, called a bank, for all those funds, was obviously a great invention. The ability to loan the money thus collected to each dealer, at the time of making his purchases, in proportion to his wants, greatly facilitated business, and virtually increased the capital necessary to its conduct. As long as the business could be confined to the simple transactions of those actually engaged in trade, it was eminently safe and useful. The money loaned to each merchant began immediately to be replaced by his deposits, and there was no danger that a demand would ever spring up except for the regular known purpose of business. The notes on which the loans were made were all represented by goods. The moment, however, that these funds, that are supplied by trade, begin to be diverted to purposes of speculation, stock loans, etc., transactions which represent only an imaginary future value, the foundation of disaster is laid. In agricultural regions the course of banking is different. The agriculturists, who create the real wealth of the country, are not in daily receipt of money. Their produce is ready but once in the year, whereas they buy supplies the year round, of stores, and when the crop is ready it is turned into the stores or factories, or sold to dealers. The produce itself, after supplying the local wants, leaves a surplus, which seeks a distant market, and becomes the medium by which alone all the goods imported into the country or section can be paid for. The storekeeper of every town, who has purchased goods, generally on credit, is charged with buying up the paper of Southern men through their agents in New York. Large amounts of capital are known to be sent on from Virginia, and other parts of the South, for the same purpose.

With the Southern banks a preference is given to a four-months' draft upon New York to a four-months' note on personal security. The manufacturers of tobacco are compelled, in order to raise money to carry on their business in Virginia, to have a Northern correspondent, upon whom they draw these bills, and to whom their tobacco must be consigned. As the bills are drawn on the consignment of tobacco, that must go forward, no matter what is the state of the market in New York, and no matter how much depressed the article may be by reason of want of demand or a glut in the market.

When the tobacco arrives in New York, the agent there sells the tobacco as soon as he thinks proper, generally for an eight-months' note. He immediately takes the note, places it in the hands of a broker, who sells it at the current rates for

similar paper. The proceeds, less the commission and a shave, are returned to the agent, who uses it in paying other acceptances falling due, it may be to other parties, or he applies the money to purposes of private speculation, thus being supplied with capital by the Virginia banks. The value of the manufactured tobacco is estimated at \$15,000,000.

A planter in the South cannot borrow money from the bank upon a pledge of his land and negroes, or on good personal security, or even upon a promise to turn over to the bank the proceeds of his crop when sold. He can, however, borrow by drawing on his factor, who sells his cotton. These drafts, from the nature of the case, fall due during the early part of the crop year. In like manner, the shipper of cotton to England cannot obtain money except by drawing a sterling bill, which is a bill payable sixty days after sight. Formerly, an advance to a planter really meant what it purports to be. Now, an advance consists in the acceptance of a draft; and if the planter's cotton is not in time to protect it, long and loud are the complaints against the dishonesty of planters in withholding their crops to meet their just debts. It is easy to see how this mode of banking affects the price of cotton, and depresses it beyond its true value. No one expects to obtain any thing like full value from a sale by a pawnbroker of a watch pledged for a debt, even in prosperous times. Of course, when times are bad, the sacrifice is much greater. But the Southern people have made the movement of the sale of cotton dependent, in a great degree, upon the condition of affairs in New York. If there is no demand for sterling bills in New York, caused either by their want of ability or willingness to pay their debts to Europe, then our Southern banks cannot buy sterling bills, and the shipper cannot buy cotton. Even when cotton is bought and shipped, either to New York or Europe, it becomes completely in the power of the buyers to control the price of cotton. The banks, refusing to give the acceptor of the bills any accommodation, necessitates the sale of the article pledged on arrival to meet the bill at maturity. However honest he may be, and anxious to promote the interest of the consignor, necessity having no law, he is compelled to sell at prices dictated by the buyer.

The capital of all sections, in all shapes, is thus poured into New York, through the hands of the bankers, and becomes the means of floating a large amount of securities, of all descriptions. The Southern produce which comes here pays a large profit to agents of all kinds, through whose hands it passes, and the goods which come here are, to a large amount, sold to the South on credit, on which Southern money lying in New York is advanced, to be used in such purposes of speculation

as frequently bring on a panic, and depress the price of both bills and cotton. The summer is the season when the largest supply of Southern funds becomes apparent, and it is then the banks are most anxious to make it draw interest. They lend it upon stocks, and cause an inflation by speculators, who bid high for money. In the fall, when those funds are again wanted for their legitimate purposes, they cannot be recalled from speculation so readily, and the notes of the mercantile people are thrown out rather than that the paying loans to the speculators should be distributed. The pretence is that specie is going abroad, and that it is the importers who send it. Their paper is consequently thrown out, preventing them from buying bills. By the same operation the price of cotton is depressed. Thus at the same time the value of bills drawn against cotton is depressed at the same moment that the price of the article itself falls.

The financial system of advances is one, no doubt, by which the shippers of produce on advances are yearly victimized. The complaints were formerly loud and long against the "slaughtering" of American tobacco and cotton in the foreign cities to which they were consigned on advances. The merchandise was generally sold at the most unfavorable moment and adverse circumstances, and not unfrequently bought in at the low figure thus produced by the acceptor, to hold for his own advantage. This is one of the evils of a want of capital in producing countries. They are the victims of the lenders; and it is one of the means by which the large capital of England has been increased at the expense of her colonies, and of the tropical countries with which she deals. She buys for cash and sells on long credits, and a large margin exists between the two prices. The operation of capital is not different in America from what it is elsewhere; and it is against this operation that the South is required to contend.

In the vast circle of the States the 1500 corporate banks, with a capital of \$401,000,000; and the 800 private banks, with a capital of \$150,000,000, all base their operations upon New York exchange, and the combined 2300 banking concerns, operating on the circle, make New York the focus of their bills. To this point comes all paper, sooner or later, for negotiation, and as a consequence, all surplus funds come here for employment. The banks and bankers of New York encourage this tendency, as a matter of course, and their united strength is as follows:

	No.	Capital.
New York corporate banks.....	55	\$69,333,632
New York private banks.....	80	60,000,000
Total	135	\$129,333,632

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report for 1856, page 141, gave the capital of the private banks in New York City at \$41,500,000. By addition of firms the amount has since risen to the figure stated. The course of business usually requires the use of money to purchase the crops in the autumn, and for that purpose the distant banks discount or buy bills on New York at 60 to 90 days, by which time the produce will have been realized, and the amount applied to the liquidation of the bill. It follows that before much produce has been sold, the demand for money is large. On the other hand, when the bulk of the produce has been sold, the realization is greater than the demand, and money becomes plenty. In this operation the Southern products—cotton, rice, and tobacco—play the chief part; and the proceeds of these crops accumulate in New York, as the season advances, in the shape of "balances due banks."

The cotton crop begins to come forward in September, and causes a demand for money until about 60 days have elapsed. When the first purchases begin to be realized, the sales of sterling bills on Southern bank account cause the balances in the New York City banks to rise, as seen, December, 1857, in the table of corporate banks, when they were \$21,268,562, and continue to rise to \$34,290,766 in June, 1858. In that month the crop is nearly all realized, and the bills sold. The idle balances are then large. The New York City banks, in order to increase these balances, allow an interest of 4 per cent. on them; and they use them, not in legitimate banking, but in "loans on call," on stocks, and other securities, in competition with the private bankers, who at that season begin to supply the market with exchange at high rates, the supply against cotton having run out. The proceeds of these bills they also lend, and the competing lenders foster speculation, to be nipped when the renewed demand for money to move the crops takes place. The accumulation of funds in New York, and the facility with which they are loaned, favors the negotiation of paper, the state, city, and county bonds reach that point for sale, and are made payable there for the same object. It is obvious that the amount of "balances" in New York to the credit of the South depends upon two circumstances relatively: first, the amount of crops to be sold; second, the quantity of goods purchased. In 1858 the sales of crops were large. The cotton crop alone realized \$160,000,000, and at the same time the goods purchased were less than usual, it resulted that the balances, after having reached an unusual sum in June, went South in specie. In the past year the imports of goods have been much larger, but the sales of produce still greater. The cotton crop has realized \$200,000,000, and the shipments of cotton to the South were active. The specie held by all the

banks of the Union, and by the Southern banks, has been as follows:

	1857	1858	1859	1860
North	\$22,853,924	\$26,065,503	\$ 42,038,635	\$40,618,624
South	35,495,914	48,347,329	62,497,783	48,359,072
Total.....	\$58,349,838	\$74,412,832	\$104,537,818	\$88,977,696

The South never held so large a proportion of the aggregate specie before, and in this respect it is exercising the power which proceeds from its large crop production.

The continued large exports from the South, which will be larger this year than ever before, exercise a controlling power upon Northern funds; and only a small decline in the purchase of goods, or the amount of expenditure at the North, would produce a great derangement of the present system. The city of New Orleans is the great centre of exports, and New York of imports. If we compare the imports of the one and the exports of the other, we have results as follows:

Year	New York imports	Population	N. Orleans exports	Receipts from the interior	Popula- tion
1804	10,739,250	60,489	1,392,093		8,056
1810	14,198,204	96,373	1,753,974		17,242
1820	23,629,246	123,706	7,242,416		27,176
1830	35,624,070	202,589	13,042,740		46,310
1840	60,440,760	312,710	30,077,534	43,716,045	102,193
1850	111,123,524	515,547	38,105,350	96,897,873	116,375
1859	246,165,516	900,000	100,734,952	172,952,664	175,000

These foreign exports from the port of New Orleans swell with great rapidity, and they furnish the sterling bills against 40 per cent. of the imports into New York, while the other Southern ports give as large a quota. Against those bills, as we have seen, run the large supply of inland bills. It is now obvious that if the South is disposed to carry out its determination of reviving the old colonial non-intercourse as a means of redress, that an immense financial balance would be thrown against the North. It is true that the sterling bills then would have but a limited market in New York, but what would follow? Precisely what followed when the panic produced the result, that is exhibited in the following table:

	New York		N. Orleans		Receipts from	
	Rates of Sterling		Bills on		Amount	
	Bills in New Orleans		N. Y. Imports of specie		in Banks of	
	Lowest	Highest	Discount	at N. Orleans	N. Orleans	
1855	107	110 ½	1 a 2 ¾	3,746,037	8,570,568	
1856	106 ¾	109 ¾	1 ¼ a 2 ½	4,913,540	8,191,625	
1857	107	110	1 ¼ a 2 ½	6,500,015	16,811,162	
1858	91 ½	109	1 ½ a 6	13,268,013	10,370,701	
1859	107 ¾	110	1 ½ a 2 ¼	15,627,016	16,218,027	

The decline in the imports of 1858, following the panic, had an immense effect upon sterling bills, which fell to 20 per cent. below the actual par, and bills on New York to six per cent. discount, and became *unsalable* at any price. The current of specie went southward, broad and deep. That was produced by "non-intercourse" through "panic," and diminished intercourse from any other cause develops the same power of the Southern crops over Northern finances. The table also displays the growing power of the Southern banks; from an amount of \$1,845,808 in 1848, of specie held by the banks, the amount has risen to a sum larger than it was the custom of the New York banks to hold before the panic; and the New Orleans banks have shown great prosperity while carrying so large an amount of specie.

The exchange system of the country favors this process of centralization in New York. The whole external trade of the country is based upon buying bills for remittance abroad, while there hardly exists a market, in the countries with which we deal, for bills on America. The produce of the country is shipped and drawn against supplying, in round numbers, 350 millions of exchange. Nearly the whole of this amount is sold to banks and bankers, who hold it as a sort of monopoly, awaiting the demand of merchants who, having imported \$330,000,000 worth of goods, must pay for them. There is also \$20,000,000 to be remitted for interest on debts, public and corporate, and probably \$30,000,000 more as the expenses of Americans traveling abroad. Now the only mode for making these remittances is to buy bills, and the remitters must pay the price asked. In all the cities of Europe there is a variety of counter-exchanges, by which the merchant may arbitrate his remittances as he pleases. If in Paris he wants to remit to London, he may buy a bill on London, or may order his creditors in London to draw on him; or he may buy a bill on any other city, to remit or order a draft on any other city, to be sold. Twenty combinations may be calculated, and the cheapest acted upon. The American merchant has but one choice. He may give the banker his price for a bill, or remit the coin himself. The effect of this monopoly of the exchange market by the bankers, aids the concentration of money in New York, and in a similar manner the internal exchanges are more or less controlled. The rate is always at a premium in New York, and that frequently when New York is in debt, the real rate of exchange being disguised in depreciation of local currency. The Southern banks, having large deposits in New York drawing interest, do not sell exchange against those funds, but in some cases buy commercial exchange for depreciated notes, and then supply the market only as it will

bear a premium. If their funds did not draw interest at the North, and their own paper was payable on demand, actually as well as nominally, the exchange rate would be as often below as above par. At bottom, the same system exists as with the external exchange, viz., always to draw, and never to be drawn upon. As we have seen in a former chapter, the South sends north per annum \$522,000,000 in value, which becomes the basis of at least 1000 millions of exchange, which the banks monopolize; and the proceeds are the basis of large moneyed operations at the North.

It is not a matter of surprise, under all these circumstances, that notwithstanding the large production of wealth at the South, capital accumulates there so slowly. All the profitable branches of freighting, brokering, selling, banking, insurance, etc., that grow out of the Southern products, are enjoyed in New York; and crowds of Southerners come north in the summer to enjoy and spend their share of the profits. The profits that importers, manufacturers, bankers, factors, jobbers, warehousemen, carmen, and every branch of industry connected with merchandising, realize from the mass of goods that pass through the Northern cities, are paid by Southern consumers. There can then be no matter of wonder that the North accumulates, or that the South does so slowly. When, however, people at the North reproach the South with these advantages, derived from them as some of the "blessings of free labor," the depth of ignorance and the sublimity of impudence seem to have combined. Nevertheless, capital does accumulate at the South. As we have seen, her net-work of railroads has been built well, and more economically than in any other section, and with less foreign aid. The bonds and stocks are not only better paid, but held at home; and there is no more efficient means of building up local capital than by the operation of 9,000 miles of railroad, with its employees, and \$200,000,000 of certificates of cost, all paid from their traffic. The growth of manufactures is another efficient aid to accumulation.

In the campaign speeches made by me in 1890 and the years following, I constantly kept before the people the idea that Eastern and Northern men had controlled national legislation, ever since the first Congress under President Washington. Those statesmen looked to *banking and manufactures*, as the source of Northern and Eastern wealth. They knew that the South and West must ever be the agricultural sections, and the chief producers of wealth. Therefore, the laws were made, *with reference to taxing agriculture for the benefit of the banker and the manufacturer.*

In course of time, the Southern States became exploited

provinces, robbed by infernal Tariff and National Bank systems. To a less degree, the same assertion applies to the West.

Hence my effort in the great Populist movement was to bring about a political union between South and West, for the purpose of breaking the crushing yoke of the North and East.

Between the agricultural South and the manufacturing-banking North, there is no community of interest. So long as the Democratic party controls the South, and is itself controlled by New York, we can never hope that the shearers will cease to get the wool.

Northern States which never go Democratic send delegations to the Democratic National Conventions, with as full a vote in the convention as those Southern States which always go Democratic. The consequence is, that Democratic States receive their platforms their candidates and the national legislation, *from Republican States*.

This anomalous situation has existed so long that the South is more hopelessly enslaved than ever, and the Democratic party does not even pretend to stand for the old Jefferson-Jackson principles.

As the Democratic party is *sure* to get the Southern vote, no consideration is shown the South in legislation or in governmental policies. For the same reason, the Republican party shows us no consideration.

In other words, the Democratic party does nothing for us, because it can't lose us; and the Republicans do nothing for us, because they can't win us.

Hence, the South is a mere political nonentity, held in subjection by class-legislation; and kept submissive, by the gift of a few offices, and a few millions, for public buildings and "Flood Control."

The public doesn't need the buildings, and the floods are not controlled; but our daily papers are controlled, and our politicians need the public buildings: therefore, we vote the Democratic ticket and contentedly remain in legislative, financial, and political bondage.

If St. Paul were to run on the Republican ticket, and Judas Iscariot, on the Democratic, I honestly believe that our daily papers would support Judas; and, if Paul got the votes, the managers would count him out.

The accumulation of wealth at the North, is discussed by Mr. Kettell:

ACCUMULATION.

We have followed briefly the progress which each national section has made in the production of wealth, and have shown that the greatest results, by all odds, have attended the

Southern system. When we turn, however, to accumulation and possession, a different state of affairs presents itself. Neither the West nor the South hold much of what they produce. Wealth once extracted from the soil by labor, evinces a strong affinity for the North and East, and there piles up in a magnitude which dazzles the observer. As the opulent always become purse-proud, so does the affluent North regard with a degree of haughtiness the very useful sections which pour riches into her lap. Exercising the prerogative of wealth she assumes the right to dictate manners and morality to those who are less thrifty in worldly matters. It is the nature of capital to accumulate, and the more so when the laws are so framed as to favor that accumulation. From the earliest period of the government the federal revenues have been derived from duties on goods imported. The duties have not been levied with a single view to revenue, but have been so adjusted as to afford the largest protection to Northern manufactures—in other words, to tax the consumers of goods West and South for the support of Eastern manufactures. The amount of customs so collected in the past 70 years reaches 1100 millions of dollars, a large portion of which was disbursed at the North. This sum has been paid mostly by the South and West into the federal treasury, on goods imported. The sum of these may be 20 per cent. of the quantity home manufactured, and the value of which has been increased in the ratio of the duty. If, however, it is assumed that the home-made goods have been enhanced in value only to the extent of the customs revenue, then the Eastern manufacturers have obtained 1100 millions of dollars as tribute from the South and West. That large sum has been taken from agricultural industry and added to manufacturing industry. The fisheries of the Eastern States drew \$5,000,000 as bounties paid to those engaged in them, out of the federal treasury, to the date of the abolition of those bounties. The North enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade, foreign vessels being excluded. These, and other circumstances drew the surplus capital from the agriculturist into the coffers of the manufacturer. The accumulation of capital thus brought about, became invested in stocks, banks, insurance companies, all of which drew large profits on credits granted to the other sections. The North has \$600,000,000 so invested, of which \$356,318,000 are in banks alone, which draws \$60,000,000 per annum from the earnings of the other sections. The frequent pilgrimages from all sections to the Eastern cities for the purchase of goods, and in pursuit of pleasure, form a large item of cost charged upon goods

that is paid by the consumer. The profits of other business may be approximated as follows:

Bounties to fisheries, per annum.....	\$ 1,500,000
Customs, per annum, disbursed at the North.....	40,000,000
Profits of Manufacturers.....	30,000,000
Profits of Importers.....	16,000,000
Profits of Shipping, imports and exports.....	40,000,000
Profits on Travellers.....	60,000,000
Profits of Teachers, and others, at the South, sent North...	5,000,000
Profits of Agents, brokers, commissions, etc.....	10,000,000
Profits of Capital drawn from the South.....	30,000,000
Total from these sources.....	\$231,500,000

This is an approximation of the annual load which Southern industry is required to carry, and the means of paying it depends upon black labor. The heavy drain of capital thus created prevents an accumulation at the South, and promotes it as effectively at the North, where every such accumulation only accelerates the drain. If we take the aggregate of these items for 10 years only, the result is the enormous sum of \$2,315,000,000, and allowing 20 per cent. of the sum only as the aggregate of the 50 previous years, the amount is 2770 millions of dollars earned at the South, and added to Northern accumulation. The fishing bounties alone, as we have seen, reach \$12,944,000, mostly paid to Maine and Massachusetts. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise if we find the North very rich, and the South showing much slower accumulation. No matter how great may be the production of wealth at the South it pours off into Northern coffers as rapidly as it is created, and, singularly enough, the recipients of that wealth are continually upbraiding the South with its creation. As we have seen, in the quotation from the *London Times*, contained in a former chapter, English common-sense detects the absurdity, not to say indecency, of such conduct, and is disposed, at least, to be civil until they can do better.

If we take the census figures for the amount of wealth in the Union, distinguishing real from personal, we have the following results. To the figures as returned by the census-makers, the commissioner, Mr. De Bow, added a "true" value.

	Real	Personal	Total	True
North	\$1,835,063,613	\$ 546,768,966	\$2,381,782,579	\$2,095,833,338
West	619,154,287	195,054,073	815,208,360	1,022,948,262
South	1,445,008,447	1,381,727,523	2,826,735,970	3,947,781,366
Total	\$3,899,226,347	\$2,125,440,562	\$6,024,666,909	\$7,066,562,966

On the 14th July, 1798, Congress by law imposed a tax of \$2,000,000 upon dwelling-houses, farm-lands, and slaves between the ages of 12 and 50. In consequence of this tax, a valuation took place of lands and houses separately. In 1815 a new valuation of houses, lands, and slaves took place together.

The valuation of lands took place again by the census of 1850.

Dividing the Northern from the Southern States, the aggregates of each compare as follows:

SOUTH				NORTH			
	Acres	Value		Acres	Value		
1798	112,869,655	\$162,409,811		50,877,031	\$ 316,835,452		
1850	133,113,641	820,718,319		55,172,839	1,455,011,805		
Increase		\$658,308,508			\$1,138,129,353		

The land at the North has increased \$20 per acre, and the land at the South has increased \$4 per acre. The concentration of manufactures and commerce has given 1100 millions of dollars to the value of land in the Northern States, in 50 years. At the South, where the eight States named embrace about one-half the Slave States, the growing value of the product only has been relied on to raise the value of the land. If we take the remaining Southern States, that have grown up since the valuation of 1798, but which are reported in the census of 1850, the result is as follows:

	Acres	Value
Old States, as above.....	113,112,641	\$ 820,718,319
New States, per census.....	47,371,907	234,703,237
Total South, 1850.....	180,485,548	\$1,055,421,556

The South has thus added to the extent of its territory, and raised the value of the whole to 1055 millions. Those 47,371,907 acres that have been added since 1798, were bought of the Federal government for about \$60,000,000, which has thus been contributed to the Federal expenses by slave-labor. We now come to the value of the slaves. These, by the law of 1798, were taxed 50 cents each. In 1815 the tax was again levied upon slaves, and they were included, as the Secretary expressed it, because they increased the ability of the State to pay. The valuation of the blacks was then at \$250 each, as follows.

	No.	Each	Value
1798	893,041	\$200	\$178,608,200
1815	1,163,854	250	291,973,500
1850	3,204,314	550	1,603,758,666
Increase from 1798.....			\$1,425,150,745
Increase in land.....			893,011,745
Total increase in value of land and slaves.....			2,318,162,201

We have seen, in a former chapter, that the product of these lands and slaves, sent out of the country, is \$265,000,000 or 11 per cent. of the value. That is, value here given is equal to nine years' purchase; but the other products of the slaves and lands support the workers and their masters. Thus this increased value of the land and hands is represented by the actual exchangeable productions, although the proceeds of those productions pour off into Northern coffers. At the North, 55 million acres have increased \$1,138,128,253, on account of their proximity to those manufacturing and commercial establishments that are employed by Southern expenditures and purchases of goods. That value is the reflection of Southern industry. The manufacturing capital that has accumulated at the North is to be added to the value of city property. If we now take the value of Western lands from the census of 1850, we have the sum of 67,420,583 acres, valued at \$760,299,733. We may now include in the valuation the houses and improvements of the three sections, as follows:

REAL ESTATE VALUATION.

	1798	1814-15	1850
North	\$422,271,673	\$1,036,319,513	\$1,835,063,613
South	197,705,574	533,990,496	1,445,008,447
West		61,347,215	619,154,287
Total	\$619,977,247	\$1,631,657,224	\$3,899,226,347

Such has been the progress of valuation in each section. At the North, the same extent of land has received a value of 1400 millions additional. At the South and West, the area has extended as it has increased in value.

The average value of the farm lands of the North is \$42 per acre, at the West \$29, and at the South \$20 for improved lands. The value of farm implements is as great at the South, nearly, as in both the other sections. In Louisiana they nearly reach the value of those in Ohio. Comparing the agricultural West with the agricultural South, we have results as follows:

	Improved area	Value farm lands	Value Implements
West	24,082,742	\$ 697,186,522	\$32,031,523
South	54,286,714	1,119,380,109	75,385,945
In favor of the South.....	30,897,972	\$422,193,587	\$43,354,412

The West, as we have seen, has received 600,000 foreign immigrants, and a great number of Eastern immigrants, together with hundreds of millions of dollars poured over her lands, while the South has depended only on itself, and yet it has 100 per cent. more land under the plough, 130 per cent. more value in farm implements, and 60 per cent. more value to its lands. This is free and slave labor in the same business. These are the means of production. It is the North-east which retains the accumulation. With a far less area the value of lands is much greater, but this includes the numerous cities and manufacturing localities, which are made valuable by Southern traffic. The city of New York has a value of \$551,928,122, or equal to the whole State of Pennsylvania, exceeding that of any Western State except Ohio, and of the Southern States except Virginia. The trade and valuation of New Orleans, and New York and Boston compare as follows:

	Imports and exports	Real estate	Personal estate	Total	Popu- lation
Boston	\$ 65,774,797	\$153,505,300	\$101,208,800	\$254,174,100	162,748
New York .	382,861,703	378,954,930	172,961,192	551,923,122	629,904
New Orleans	117,413,044	76,485,970	28,370,942	104,856,912	124,385

The business of New Orleans embraces the large river receipts of produce which go to swell its exports, and its external business is larger than that of Boston; yet its personal property is very small, and the value of its real estate nothing in proportion to its business. The real estate of New York is enhanced in value by the crowd of buyers from the South, to catch whose business high rents are paid for desirable sites, and the holders of the old Knickerbocker farms have grown immensely wealthy by the confluence in Broadway of the Yankee dealers and Southern buyers. The Western cities present no such rise in value. Cincinnati, with a population of 155,000, has its real estate valued at \$55,595,825, or less than New Orleans.

The tendency at the North is to increase the wealth and population of the cities that enjoy the Southern trade, while the agricultural population diminishes by migration West. This has produced a declining value of farm lands. The census gave for New York the value of farm lands at

\$554,546,642, while the real estate in New York city alone is \$378,954,930, or nearly three-fourths. The real estate in Boston exceeds the value of farm lands in Massachusetts by 44 millions. The sterile nature of the soil, as compared with that of the West, while its valuation is so much greater, prompts migration. Farm lands in Massachusetts are valued at \$50 per acre, and much better are had at the West for \$10. New York lands are valued at \$45 per acre, and produce far less than Western lands at \$5 per acre.

The valuations of land are, however, little to be depended upon, a fact which the revulsion in the Northwest brings home to the experience of vast numbers of individuals at the present moment. At the North everywhere, farm lands are greatly overvalued. It is true that nothing is more difficult than to affix values to landed property, and the value of such property varies rapidly. Thus, a farm of—say 100 acres—under fair management, may give the owner his living in exchange for his labor, and \$600 per annum clear money. This would be the interest on \$10,000, and he might, under such circumstances, estimate his land as worth \$100 per acre. This, however, is not the case; very few farms will, at the North, give any thing beyond a meagre support of a family in return for hard labor and care. Nevertheless, the universal valuation is \$100 per acre for farms. Every owner feels that if he could sell at that price, and place the money at seven per cent. interest, he should be rich without working at all, compared with his farm life. Hence it is that throughout the length and breadth of the North and West, every farm is for sale. In England and Europe land is tenaciously held; in this country no kind of property is more readily parted with. This fact grows out of the over valuation. In years of large exports of food, farm profits, as a matter of course, rise, and the holder is enabled to meet his mortgages readily; for nearly all the farms are mortgaged. In a time of low prices, like the past year, the mortgages are paid with difficulty, and when the land comes to market \$40 or \$50 per acre is found to be nearer the realizable value. The holders of mortgages are they who reap the true value of the farm lands. The grasp which the money-lenders and speculators have upon the free labor of the North is universal and tenacious, and "financial talent" is always on the lookout to mortgage other peoples' labor for their own benefit. This was singularly the case with the Holland Land Company in the State of New York. That company held a large tract where the Western terminus of the Erie Railroad now is. The land was settled by numbers of industrious settlers, who had taken the lands of the company to improve

them, and to pay as they could. When they paid up, they were to have deeds. These settlements were in a state of progress, when, in an evil hour, financial talent, in the shape of William H. Seward, Esq., and his coadjutors, turned their attention to the "free labor" of that region, and concluded to make it available by "bonds." They agreed to buy out the Holland Land Co.; but in order to do it, they must enchain the free laborers. They persuaded these simple-minded men, who were paying up the principal on their lands as best they could, to take deeds, and give mortgages with "bonds," bearing interest inexorably twice a year. These mortgages the financiers pledged with the American Life and Trust Co., for loans with which to buy out the Land Co. The free laborers soon found that they were in the hands of the spoiler, and when they could no longer wring from the earth the inevitable semi-annual interest, they were cleared, as the negro-loving Duchess of Sutherland cleared her estates of pauper residents, they being driven forth to new homes in the West. Their departure left the lands in the hands of those who knew how to profit largely by the construction of the Erie Railroad over them. Thus it is that free labor is made useful to those who understand the "higher law" of finance. The mortgage holders generally are they who reap the profit of free farming labor. E. D. Mansfield, Esq., the able Commissioner of Statistics for the State of Ohio, gives the mortgages upon the lands of that State at \$50,000,000.

If we take from the State returns of last year the valuation of such States as have been officially given, we get returns as follows:

State Returns of Taxable Acres, Valuation, Slave Value, Other Personal, and Total Valuation, 1858.

	Acres taxed	Value of land	Slave values	Other personal	Total valuation
Va.	37,000,000	\$374,989,888	\$313,148,275	\$355,827,765	\$1,043,965,928
Ga.	33,759,233	181,677,194	271,620,405	156,292,277	609,589,876
Fla. ...	2,265,503	13,910,981	27,250,551	8,299,932	49,461,466
Tex. ...	47,037,537	86,539,306	71,912,496	33,935,575	192,387,377
Ark. ...	7,989,676	42,385,704	34,794,704	10,869,007	88,049,415
Tenn. ...	25,362,726	166,417,907	82,319,723	11,581,981	260,319,611
Ky.	21,568,383	270,960,818	95,588,497	53,809,903	420,359,100
Mo.	26,525,338	235,892,792	45,090,028	39,072,373	320,055,193
Total	202,399,296	\$1,372,774,597	\$941,724,661	\$669,688,811	\$2,984,188,046

These are the figures for eight Southern States. The value of the lands given in the above table from the census in these same States was \$629,000,000, an increase of \$743,000,000! in eight years following the rise in the value of the

cotton crop. It will be observed that the other seven Southern States, of which we have no official State returns, gave a value of \$490,000,000 in the above census table. If these have increased in the same ratio as those for which we have returns, and there is no reason to doubt it, then the whole increased value in the Southern States is \$1,333,000,000!! There was no speculation in these States; but they were, to some extent, acted upon adversely by the land speculation of the Northwest, which attracted capital thither even from the South. If we turn now to the State returns of seven Free States, the results are as follows:

	Acres	Value	Personal value	Total
California	5,037,557	56,060,351	48,919,728	131,306,269
Indiana	21,918,659	176,894,881	141,310,023	318,204,904
Illinois	42,100,000	395,663,459	111,813,908	407,477,367
Iowa	10,445,003	98,101,200	41,943,333	140,044,533
Ohio	19,800,000	590,295,947	260,314,084	840,800,031
Michigan	7,917,322	88,101,204	32,261,670	120,362,474
Wisconsin	17,411,319	155,012,330	13,607,893	152,537,700
Total	124,629,860	\$1,560,119,372	\$610,370,199	\$2,111,233,345

The valuation of these same States in the table, page 131, was \$692,209,000, showing an increase of \$867,910,000 as the result of the vast migration from abroad and the East, with the expenditure of many hundred millions in addition to the railroad expenditure. The territories may have increased so as to bring up the value to \$1,000,000,000.

This increase is flattering, but what are the results? The West is bankrupt in face of that valuation; capital flows back from it as far as it can be realized. The money sent there is sunk; the railroads do not earn expenses; and the lands, with their high valuation, do not give back an interest upon mortgages. The South, on the other hand, has attained that valuation on a basis of the actual rise in value and sale of the produce of the land. The annual produce not only amply pays the interest, but it gives a higher value to the price of slaves, which have risen to \$1500 to \$2000 for a good field-hand. There is no "back set" in the values thus attained, while those of the West are a wreck. In these figures for the Southern States we have also the fact, that there is personal property in those States, over and above the value of slaves, more than equal to the amount of personal in the Western States. The fact is a complete refutation of that assertion which has been freely circulated, to the effect that the South has no personal property besides its blacks. The taxable valuation of the Eastern States compare as follows:

	Census, 1850	State, 1859
Maine	96,799,553	162,472,914
Massachusetts	551,106,824	597,936,995
New Hampshire	95,251,596	103,804,326
Vermont	72,980,483	86,775,213
Connecticut	119,088,672	211,187,683
Rhode Island	77,758,974	111,175,174
New York	715,369,028	1,404,907,679
New Jersey	153,251,619	179,150,000
Pennsylvania	500,275,851	568,770,234
Total	\$2,381,782,690	\$3,426,180,218
Increase		1,044,398,610

This increase has been mostly in city values. Thus, Vermont gives the official value of lands in 1859 at \$69,274,600, and in the above census table, it was given at \$63,367,227, showing that six millions only out of an aggregate increase of 16 millions is due to lands. As a result, the nine Northern States give an increase of 1000 millions in city and personal property. This increase has been in the face of the vast sums that have been sent West for investment, and the migration of capital with settlers to that region. The South has supplied the capital which has accumulated at the North, and which has endowed the West with such factitious prosperity. It is to be borne in mind that very much of the personal property of the North escapes taxation.

It is not alone in the valuations that the increased capital at the North manifests itself, but in banks, ships, manufacturing, corporate companies of all descriptions, of which the figures can be realized. If we compare the bank returns for the present year with 1850, we find the increase in capital as follows:

Bank Capital of the United States.

	No.	1850 Capital	No.	1859 Capital corporate	Private
North	516	\$121,909,000	934	\$261,773,330	\$94,545,000
South	182	77,632,000	399	104,030,994	10,276,369
West	65	8,675,000	243	23,171,418	13,204,711
Total	753	\$208,216,000	1,576	\$388,976,242	\$118,036,080

The bank capital of the Union began to take a start in 1848, having then recovered from the breakdown of the old revulsion. The increase of the capital was mostly North and East, following the concentration of general business. The increase at the West was on a basis of Eastern capital, sent out with a view to control business. The private banking capital is that as given in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1856, page 141. The capital had mostly grown

up within a few years. The increase of corporate capital at the North was, in round numbers, 140 millions, and 90 millions of private, making together 230 millions employed in a business which pays 10 per cent. net upon mostly Southern connections.

The increase of tonnage at the North has been as follows:

	North	South	West	Total
1850	2,653,975	760,841	140,678	3,535,454
1859	3,669,115	1,005,852	374,841	5,049,808
Increase	1,015,140	245,011	234,163	1,514,354

The whole tonnage has increased, it appears, 1,514,354 tons; of this two-thirds, or 1,015,140, has been North and East, representing a value of \$45,000,000.

The railroads have increased North and West \$700,000,000, of which nearly the whole was owned in the Eastern States. That a good portion of it was lost does not take from the fact that it was there to invest.

Manufacturing capital has increased in a very rapid ratio. Thus, the census report gave the capital in New York and Massachusetts, invested in manufactures in 1850 at \$188,184,697. The state census of the two States give it at \$227,042,606 in 1855, an increase of 20 per cent. in five years. The same ratio would give an increase to 1859 of \$142,000,000.

These items give a Northern increase of capital as follows:

Banking	\$232,000,000
Tonnage	45,000,000
Railroads	500,000,000
Manufacturing	142,000,000
Corporate companies	100,000,000
Total	\$1,019,000,000

This gives a round amount of capital derived from Southern business mostly, and employed in enterprises which derive a profit from the same source. This capital should pay 10 per cent., which would give 100 millions per annum. That portion of it invested in Western railroads will fall short of that income for the reason that the Western resources will not pay the investment.

The results of these figures plainly show that while the South produced vast wealth, the Northern profits have absorbed most of it. They also show that the South begins to accumulate itself. Its personal property begins to show a high figure. Its railroads and manufactures begin not only to reimburse capital but employ labor.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; PRIEST-CRAFT AND PRIEST RULE.

The most glorious night in the history of France, is that of August 4, 1789.

On that famous night the National Assembly tore up Feudalism, root and branch. So universal and irresistible had become the rage against Feudal burdens, Feudal privilege and Feudal tyranny, that the Breton Club, filled with ambitious and enthusiastic young nobles who had embraced liberal principles and who were then leading the Revolutionary movement, determined to put forward one of their leaders to move, in the National Assembly, that the peasant be given the right to buy out his lord's Feudal privileges.

The young Duke of Aiguillon had been selected to make this motion. But Count Noailles, who as a younger son had no Feudal privileges to lose, had heard of the Duke's purpose and jumped in ahead of him that night—gained the floor himself, and made a speech proposing not only the privilege of *redeeming* Feudal right in money, but the abolition of forced labor, and all personal service *without any redemption*. Thus a young scion of the Aristocracy, who little dreamed what he was doing, struck at the very heart of the Old Order.

Feudalism had stood in France for a thousand years. Six months previous to the night of August 4th it had seemed to be as formidable as ever. Its huge form met the eye at every turn. Its battlements rose high, were thick, looked strong. Its dungeons were deep and dark. In its hands were both sword and purse. The State guarded it; the Law drew its charmed circle about it; the Church blessed it, and was its partner. Who could have believed, six months before, that the purse was empty, the sword all rust, the walls ready to crumble at a touch, the whole elaborate fraud and imposture feeble with incurable decay?

WRONGS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

After Noailles sat down, the Duke of Aiguillon rose, painted a frightful picture of the conditions then prevailing throughout the country, and admitted that *the violence of the peasantry found its justification in the wrongs of the Feudal system*. He proposed that corporate bodies, towns, communities and individuals, that had therefore enjoyed special privileges and exemptions, *should for the future, bear their share of the public burdens*.

Great excitement followed the Duke's speech. An enthusiastic impulse of patriotism began to take possession of the entire Assembly. One after another, deputies rose, made passionate speeches and proposed the destruction of some oppressive feature of the feudal system. Springing to his feet after the Duke had sat down, a Breton deputy, dressed in the plain clothes of a farmer, made his first speech—and so far as I know, his last—in that Assembly. Said he, *in words which the privileged few of all nations might now take to heart as an indication of the wrath to come*, "Had you burnt the title-deeds of Feudalism yourselves, the peasants would not now be burning parchment and castle together. Those feudal burdens crush and degrade humanity. Let us burn the privileges which yoke men like beasts of labour, and which compel men to beat ponds at night to prevent the frogs from disturbing the sleep of their voluptuous lords."

By this time the assembly was in a whirl of excitement. The next attack was made upon bloated pensions and outrageous salaries. Carried away by the generous contagion, the nobles *voluntarily* agreed to sacrifice, for the public good, those pensions and salaries. Their announcement was received with thunders of applause.

The Marquis of Beauharnais proposed that hereafter *all citizens be equal before the criminal law*, and that *employment of every kind should be open to every citizen alike*. Voted amid shouts of approval. And so the beneficiaries of special privilege rose, one after the other, and, inspired by the spirit of that glorious night, surrendered up to be *burned upon the altar of sacrifice those special privileges which had plunged France into the horrors of civil strife*.

THE CLERGY DID NOT JOIN.

A writer in the New York *Herald*, of recent date says that upon the night of August 4th, *the clergy of France caught the patriotic infection*, and that they themselves rose to the splendid height of *voluntary renunciation* of their special privileges for the benefit of the fatherland.

The New York *Herald* is utterly, absolutely wrong. *The clergy did nothing of the kind*. Upon the contrary they were conspicuously wanting in sympathy with the patriotic spirit pervading the Assembly. It was upon the initiative of *others* that the assembly voted away from the clergy the privileges and abuses which they had refused to voluntarily renounce.

The Bishop of Nancy, who had in a recent sermon attacked so bitterly the salt tax, and the extravagance of the court was

the spokesman of the church upon that historic evening. The utmost which the bishop would offer in the way of conciliation and compromise, *was that the peasant might redeem in money the feudal privileges which the church had long enjoyed.* The rich clergy gave nothing to the common cause. The poor parish-priest offered to renounce his fees. The Assembly, *profoundly touched by this spirit in the poorer clergy, refused to accept the sacrifice.*

It is true that the revolutionary leaders pressed right on until the proud aristocracy of the Church was stripped of its un-Christian wealth, privilege and power—but not once did the higher clergy manifest the slightest public spirit or patriotic impulse.

On the contrary, when the royal treasury was empty, the deficit yawning wide and deep, and the life of the Bourbon Dynasty at its last gasp, the minister of the Bourbon King implored his brother Catholics to lend to the State a beggarly \$300,000 to save the throne from ruin.

The Archbishop of Brienne, who made the plea, was a good Catholic. And *his prayer was coldly, flatly, emphatically scorned*—by those princes of the Catholic Church who *paid no taxes and whose revenues amounted to more than \$15,000,000 per year.*

CATHOLIC VS. CATHOLIC IN 1907.

In order to understand the crisis that now threatens civil war in France, it is necessary to take a look backward, but, first, *it is absolutely necessary for us to understand that this is a falling out among Catholics.* It is not a conflict in which Protestant is arrayed against Catholic; it is not a struggle in which the believer is at dagger's point with the unbeliever. *It is a division of the faithful into two camps.*

Now for the look backward.

There has for generations been trouble among the French Catholics. In fact, so far as the writer now remembers, the Catholic Church in France has never been entirely at peace with itself save when there was a conflict on between believer and infidel, or between Protestant and Mother Church. Ever since the Catholics obtained a complete triumph over the Protestants, there have been dissensions in their own ranks. These have been extremely bitter; and upon the stormy sea of Catholic factions, the ship of State has had difficult navigation, time and again.

For the purpose of this article, it is not necessary to mention every dispute between the papal court of Rome and the French Catholic church. It will answer every purpose to recall that there has always been at least two distinct groups of

French Catholics. One of these favored *Home* rule, and the other favored *Rome* rule.

The one faction were in favor of a Gallican church, which should be, to all intents and purposes, independent of the Vatican in matters of discipline and mere church government.

Opposed to these Home rulers was the faction of French Catholics called *Ultra Montaines*, who believed that the Vatican should be supreme and should be obeyed in all things.

Of course, the tendency of the policy of the Rome rulers was to erect within France *a power greater than the king's*; thus making *the church greater than the state*.

A RELIGIOUS MONOPOLY.

Let me remind the reader of the time when the most marvelous woman that ever lived, Madame de Maintenon, wrung from Louis XIV those concessions to the orthodox Catholic church which resulted in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in the Dragonnades. The Huguenot gathered up his household goods, shook the dust of his country from the soles of his feet, and sought in Great Britain and in the New World the liberty which was denied him in the land of his birth. Those Protestants who remained in France were without power and without legal recognition. The Catholic was monarch of all he surveyed. The Catholic church was a huge religious monopoly. Its hierarchy was intrenched in a power before which the king himself was a secondary potentate.

Then followed those consequences which have always followed when too much power is granted to any set of men. The Catholic church absorbed much of the wealth of the land. The higher priesthood became an aristocracy, imitating in every respect the feudal aristocracy *which was rich, idle and licentious*. Just as the state regarded the subject from the standpoint of taxpayer only; just as the state imposed upon the common people all the burdens of government while denying them the benefits; so the nobility of the Catholic church lived sumptuously, lazily, licentiously—shirking their duties, forgetting the responsibilities of their sacred calling, neglecting the flock committed to their care, allowing ignorance and superstition to take full possession of the minds of the common people.

In the records of the human race there can be found no evidence more damning to *absolutism and the union of church and state*, than is to be found in the degraded, besotted condition of the common people of France immediately preceding the French Revolution.

HOW THE PEASANT FARED.

All France was orthodox. The masses believed. With boundless credulity they knelt at the foot of the priest.

Yet, what had the priest done for them? Had he introduced books among them? No. Liberal ideas? No. Schools? No. Information upon such matters as concerned their material welfare? No. *Had the church ever pleaded the peasant's case at the bar of public opinion?* No. Ever besought the king to lighten the weight of his heavy hand? No. Ever protested against feudal wrongs? No. *Ever shown the least desire that the condition of the masses should be improved?* No.

Royalist writers dwell scornfully upon the ignorance, brutality and prejudice of the lower orders in France at the time of the Revolution—let them write ever so scornfully, *the lower they degrade the peasant, the higher mounts the evidence and the indignation against those who had been his keepers!*

This government of France had been absolute. The state and the church, *the king and the priest, had had entire control.* The people had no voice, no vote, no power. *They had never been consulted.* The entire responsibility had been assumed by the monarch and his privileged few—and *here was the result.* Theirs was the tree, theirs the fruit. "*Whatsoever a man sow, that also shall he reap;*" and the crimes, the ignorance, the brutality, the poverty, the misery of the masses of the French people in 1789 stands as a permanent judgment of condemnation against the ruling classes, who were responsible for the material, mental and spiritual condition of a people who had so long been under their absolute control.

REVOLT, AND THE CRISIS.

These conditions cried aloud to heaven for reform. The reform came *in the thunder claps and the lightning flashes of revolution.* Why? Because *neither the church nor the state would listen to the voice of the reformers,* such as Turgot and Necker and Mirabeau, who had vainly endeavored to arouse the church and the state to a realization of the dangerous situation. *The nobility—selfish, ignorant full of classpride and class prejudice, utterly repudiated the idea that the common man had any rights which they were bound to respect;* and with a madness which was as blind as it was suicidal, they expelled from office one minister after another, the moment that minister pointed to the real source of all the trouble that was threatening to engulf the state, o-wit: *Privilege! Privilege! Privilege!*

Equally blind, equally selfish, equally mad, were the higher

dignitaries of the Catholic church. Their minds seemed to be hermetically sealed to any new idea; their hearts were steeled against any appeal to patriotism or humanity.

Whence sprung the revolt against the higher orders? From Protestants? By no means. The Protestant was an insignificant portion of the population. The revolt against the aristocratic Catholic noble, came from the Catholic common people.

Therefore, *the French Revolution was a revolt of the Catholic common people against the Catholic nobility of church and state.*

The revolt against the higher dignitaries of the Catholic church came from the poorer, humbler Catholic priests, who as pastors, were obliged to bear the burden of church-work, and had to exist upon crumbs which the lordly princes of the hierarchy disdainfully flung to them.

DID NOT ESTABLISH ATHEISM.

Almost every historian has stated that the Revolution made war upon religion and set up atheism. This is not true. What the Revolution did was to divorce the church from the state. *Our forefathers did the same thing when they founded our republic.* In Virginia there was a union of church and state. Mr. Jefferson made war upon it, and succeeded in divorcing the church from the state. *During the French Revolution the leaders wanted to do for France precisely what Mr. Jefferson did for Virginia.* They wished the church to occupy its own sphere of action and usefulness; they wanted the state to occupy its own sphere of action and usefulness. *They had realized the danger of union between the two.* Now remember, those leaders who wanted the church separated from the state were not all atheists, free thinkers, infidels, deists. Many of them were true Catholics. Talleyrand was born and reared in the bosom of the mother church, and he had worn the robes of office as a bishop of Rome. The Abbe Seieyes was as true a Catholic, perhaps, as the Cardinal De Rohan. Many others of the prominent leaders of the revolutionary movements were as true Catholics at heart and in mind, as any of those cardinals who had the ear of the Pope in the Vatican. Therefore, *it was not a question of conscience; it was not a question of religion; it was a question of policy; a question of whether the state should be sovereign in its own sphere of action.*

NO WAR ON CATHOLIC RELIGION.

It is frequently said and currently believed that the Catholic church in France was closed by the Revolution, and that it

never revived until after the advent of Napoleon. This is ludicrously false. During the whole time of the Revolution the Catholic church stayed open, and the faithful flocked to its altars.

True, there was a tremendous row which threatened the life of the reform movement. But what was it? *Some Catholics were willing to obey the law* which separated the church from the state, *while others were not willing to do so.* Those who submitted went forward regularly with their devotions. Those who defied the law became incendiaries, rebels, and did their utmost to aid the foreign invaders in crushing the life out of the fatherland.

During the Reign of Terror, the Catholic worship went on without the slightest interruption, excepting as I have just said, that *some of the Catholics refused to obey the law, which separated the church from the state.*

HOME RULE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

It is known to but few, that those priests of the Catholic church who conceived it to be their duty to obey the voice of the state and accept the constitution, were proceeding with ever-increasing usefulness, power and success in building up a *Home rule church.* These noble-hearted priests stood at the post of duty, subordinating their priestly pride to their conscientious conception of duty, while the Chief Priests of the hierarchy stood moodily, selfishly, irreconcilably aside, or fled to foreign countries and instigated invasions of their own country. Those noble-souled priests of the Catholic church who bowed to the will of the nation as expressed through the *Gallican church,* ruled by Frenchmen and supported, as all religious denominations should be, by the voluntary contributions of the faithful. This is one very important chapter in the history of the French Revolution which most historians have entirely slurred over, or misrepresented.

During the years when I was making a close study of French history, in order to write "*The Story of France,*" and the "*Life of Napoleon,*" I came upon these facts and my surprise was very great at finding them.

THE CONCORDAT.

Thus matters stood when Napoleon began his imperial career. When Lafayette told him, "*You want to have a certain little bottle broken over your head,*" Napoleon smiled, but did not deny. The little bottle alluded to was, of course, the vial in which was held the sacred oil which was used in anointing the head of him who is crowned ruler of the French.

Napoleon realized that if he came to terms with the Pope, that he would at once draw to himself the support of the strongest faction of the Catholic church. Acting with the astute selfishness of the politician, he made his celebrated treaty with the Pope, which is known as the *Concordat*. (1801).

In this treaty between Napoleon and the Pope, France was to pay clerical salaries to the extent of \$10,000,000 per year. *Of course, this money which was paid to the church, was first taxed out of the people by the state.*

In my "*Life of Napoleon*," I took the position which I have never since seen any reason to change, that *this Concordat was the unpardonable sin of his career*. It cut the ground from under those clericals who were willing to subordinate their church to the will of the nation as expressed by the legislature, and who in *abolishing fees for the administration of the sacrament*, had given such convincing evidence that they wished to get closer to the standard of Christ than the Catholic church had been, previous to the Revolution.

By the Concordat, Napoleon destroyed this independent Catholic church, restored the rule of Rome, put the French Catholics under the feet of the Italian priests, and laid those foundations upon which the Roman hierarchy built the power which afterwards antagonized the supremacy of the state.

It will be remembered that Napoleon celebrated the restoration of the union between church and state in France by a gorgeous ceremonial in Notre Dame. It required all the authority of the First Consul to compel his own generals to attend.

As the ceremonial was proceeding, Napoleon turned to General Delmas and asked him what he thought of it. With the bluntness of a soldier, General Delmas replied: "It is a fine harlequinade, needing only the presence of *the million men who died to do away with all that.*"

Napoleon afterwards realized what an enormous mistake he had made. For when he himself began to totter under the repeated blows of foreign coalitions, it was *the Roman hierarchy which struck him the blow from which he could not recover.*

The relations between the church and the state remained as Napoleon had left them, until the present French republic enacted the legislation in 1903 which divorced the church from the state, just as was done by the leaders of the French Revolution.

THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP OF SAN ANTONIO.

The Southern Messenger, a Catholic paper published in San Antonio, Texas, sends us a marked copy, with heavy blue-pencil lines drawn around the following editorial:

"MAKING WAR ON RELIGION.

"There are still a few bigots in this country—and Tom Watson is one of them—who stand up for the French Government and its persecution of the Church, and claim that the former is not making war upon religion. We should like to know how they can explain away the following public utterances of the Minister of Public Worship, M. Briand:

"Addressing the school teachers of France, he said: 'The time has come to root up from the minds of French children the ancient faith and get rid of the Christian idea.' And again, with horrible blasphemy, he declared: 'We have hunted Jesus Christ out of the army, the navy, the schools, the hospitals, the asylums and law courts; and now we must hunt Him out of the State altogether!' Could anything be plainer than this? Similar statements have been uttered by Premier Clomenceau and others, and applauded by their infidel supporters. Can any sane person doubt that the war on the Catholic Church—practically the only organized body of Christians in France—is in reality a war against Christianity—against all religion."

The Southern Messenger purports to be published "under the auspices of the Right Reverend J. A. Forest, Bishop of San Antonio."

It is to be regretted that the Right Reverend Bishop should sanction the publication of editorials which show a supreme disregard for Truth.

If the Right Reverend Bishop knows anything of Mr. Watson at all, he knows that Mr. Watson is not in the least degree "a bigot," and that he does not "stand up" for any "persecution of the church" by the French Government, or by any other Government.

What the French Government did was to *separate the Church from the State* just as Thomas Jefferson had prevailed upon Virginia to do prior to the adoption of our present national Constitution.

France took control over the State-Church property, *just as Virginia did.*

But France did not seek to prevent churches from being used for religious rites and purposes any more than Virginia did. France merely claimed the power which Texas, Virginia, and every other State in this Union now exercises over religious corporations.

Prior to the new French laws, the Catholic Church had occupied in France a position of *Special Favor*. It enjoyed Privileges and Revenues which no other Church enjoyed. The people were taxed for its benefit by the State. Every year

the Government paid into the Church treasury \$10,000,000 of the money collected from all classes, by taxation. *No other denomination was treated with such favor.* All other denominations lived upon voluntary contributions. *The Catholic Church, alone, fed out of the public crib.* Therefore, the situation was this: The State taxed all other denominations, as well as non-Believers, for *the benefit of a specially favored denomination*, to wit, the Catholics.

In the eyes of all, excepting hide-bound priests and blindly servile dupes of priests, such taxation is unjust. The State has no business to tax the Catholic for the benefit of the Protestants; nor to tax Protestants for the benefit of Catholics. Indeed, *the State has no business taxing the people for the benefit of any priesthood whatsoever.* If the disciples of the clergy do not think enough of them to support them with voluntary offerings, then the shepherds have lost the confidence of the flock.

When Catholics, in Ireland, were taxed to support the English State-Church,—Episcopal,—it was easy for Catholics to see that such taxation was unjust. The same logic applies as readily to France.

* * * * *

But the gist of the whole matter is this: In France, the Catholic Church had long enjoyed Special Privileges, and under the new laws those Special Privileges are taken away. Hence the howls of priests who put fanatical allegiance to the Pope *above* patriotic loyalty to France.

Hereafter, the Catholic Church will be on the same level with all other churches in France, and *that is precisely where the shoe pinches.*

The Catholic hierarchy resents the loss of the yearly revenue of ten million dollars, and it resents the loss of *the Special Privilege which Catholicism enjoyed as a partner of the State.*

Those American prelates who have lent themselves to the outcry against the French Government, have harmed none but themselves. After awhile, the great majority of temperate, liberal, reasonable Catholics will realize the folly of denouncing the French Government for having done the same thing that our forefathers did. After awhile, these more sensible Catholics will recognize the inconsistency of maintaining that the Catholic Church in France *should be upheld in arrogating to itself a superiority over all other religious organizations which it has not, AS YET, claimed for itself in these United States.*

* * * * *

The Southern Messenger is fatuously misled when it represents Minister Briand as boasting that the French Govern-

ment had "hunted Jesus Christ out of the army, the navy, the schools, the hospitals and law courts; and now we must hunt Him out of the State, altogether."

Those students of history who are familiar with the literature of monkish forgeries and ecclesiastical fiction, smile at a silly fabrication of that sort, but we regret to see such stuff published "*under the auspices of the Right Reverend Bishop of San Antonio.*"

The brief editorial which we have copied and commented upon, deals with but two persons, and misrepresents both. It quotes language of Mr. Briand *which he never used*, and attributes to Mr. Watson a position *which he never took*.

For the sake of Him who warned us not to bear false witness against our neighbor, we trust that the Right Reverend Bishop will recognize his error and make Christian reparation.

Let the Bishop clear his mind of foggy misunderstanding. Let him pass over the cooked-up stories which the priestly politicians of the Vatican send out for political effect. Let him remember that the crux of the matter is this—"Shall France be governed, from Rome, by a lot of Italian priests, or shall she be HOME-RULED by responsible ministers CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE." Politically, that is the question. Politically, the fight for *Power*, not *religion*.

Shall *democracy*, expressing itself at the ballot-box, control all the civil affairs of France, or shall autocracy, represented by the Roman hierarchy, and ruled by secret conclave at the Vatican, erect within France an empire greater than that of the Government which the French have set up for themselves?

Let the Right Reverend Bishop of San Antonio remember, also, that *France is a nation of Catholics*. Its army is Catholic, and Christ has not been "run out" of it to any greater extent than he has been "run out" of the army of the United States. Let the Bishop remember that the French navy is Catholic, and that its schools are Catholic, and its hospitals and law courts are Catholic. Christ has no more been "run out" of those institutions in France than he has been run out of corresponding institutions in our own country.

When public schools are taught in France as they are taught in the United States,—*education being secular and not denominational*,—such Catholics as those who are now denouncing the French Government raise the clamor that "*Christ has been run out of the schools!*"

Of course, the statement is untrue. What *is* true is that the schools have been freed from the clutches of the priests.

Inasmuch as it is the tendency of all priesthoods to identify

themselves with God, it is never possible to curtail the powers and privileges of any priesthood, without raising their outcry of, "*You are making war on God!*"

We Americans, at least, ought to be able to draw the distinction between a war on Christ and a war upon clericalism.

Christ did not ask Caesar to tax the people for his own enrichment, and he showed no inclination to collect about himself that enormous wealth which the Church of today is so keen in accumulating.

So far as we can judge by what Christ did while on earth, it would please him divinely to see the Church once more reduced to poverty. *When it was poor, it was pure.* The riches, the political power, the corruption and the fearful crimes of the Church, have their historic origin in the co-partnership that was formed between the Emperor Constantine and the Christian priesthood.

Given too much wealth and power, priests abuse them, just as other men do. Human nature is the same wherever we find it. Wearers of clerical vestments are *men*, after all; and when we fancy that they have not like passions with ourselves we practice self-deception.

Why is the priesthood so rotten and so tyrannical in Spain?

Because it has a monopoly of religious power, a despotism over the conscience, and riches in excess of its legitimate needs.

Why is the priesthood so comparatively pure and Christ-like in America?

Because it has no monopoly, and *no fixed income.* The Church rests upon the confidence and the loving devotion of the people, consequently it must *win* the confidence and *deserve* the loving devotion.

These sentiments are the foundation of its strength. To these sentiments it must look for its revenues.

Before it can expect to collect its wages, it must be *worthy of its hire.* Therefore, Catholic priests always show to the best advantage in Protestant countries, *where they have to compete for good will and public confidence.*

It is in Italy, where the Pope has been spiritually supreme for ages, that Roman Catholicism is seen at its worst.

Right at the base of the grandest Christian temples on earth, dig the sappers and miners of skepticism who, *knowing what the Catholic hierarchy actually is,* hate it with the fiercest hatred.

While ten thousand misguided American Catholics were assembling in New York, not long ago, to denounce the French Government and to express sympathy for the Pope, *fifteen thousand Italian Catholics were storming through the streets of Rome, ready to sack the Vatican!*

The Romans live in full sight of the clerical machine, and are witness to its workings; and there are *ten* infidels in Italy, *who have been made so by what they have seen*, to where there is *one* in France, who have been made so by anything done by the French Government.

* * * * *

That the Right Reverend Bishop of San Antonio, Texas, should sanction the classing of Mr. Watson as a "bigot" need excite no surprise in those who know that this same spirit of intolerance which so often dominates the higher clergy, caused them to outlaw Charles Dickens.

Few reformers have ever done the world more good by speech or work than the warm-hearted Charles Dickens accomplished with his pen.

With the weapons of wit and humor, with appeals to conscience indignant or pathetic, he did his utmost to arouse Public Opinion against Evil, wherever he saw it. Tenderly, he laid his hands upon the reins of Thought and exerted his every effort to guide it aright.

Travelling in Italy during the Austrian occupation, when the Papal power had the support of foreign bayonets, *Dickens witnessed the workings of the papal system at a time WHEN IT DID JUST AS IT PLEASED.*

What Dickens saw, filled him with horror and disgust. He published the facts to the world. It was not denied that the situation was just as he described it. But because he had exposed to the world a frightful situation, bringing the Church into discredit, he and his writings were savagely condemned by the Italian priesthood. *It was made a capital crime to publish or circulate Dickens' books in Italy or Austria!*

Whenever his works were found, they were seized and confiscated. The owner, if an Italian, was fined and cast into prison. Catholics were forbidden to read Dickens' books under pain of excommunication.

Think of the intolerance which made it a crime, punishable with death, to publish "David Copperfield," "A Tale of Two Cities" and "A Child's Dream of a Star!"

Think of the bigotry which even to this day retains the name of Dickens upon the list of the condemned, whose works no Spanish Catholic may read without sin!

His Reverence, the Bishop of San Antonio confers high honor upon Mr. Watson in classing him with the "bigots" among whom are to be found such broad-minded, noble-souled philanthropists as Charles Dickens.

The government of France is today seeking to do no more than that which our own forefathers did, and which the Catholics themselves do in our own country. The French gov-

ernment desires to *put the Catholic church on the same level as that occupied by all other denominations*. If the Catholics of France accepted the new laws of the republic, and put them into operation, *they would occupy substantially the same position as that occupied by Catholics in America*. Consequently, the reader will understand at once that *there is no question of conscience or religion involved*. It is a *wrestle for power*. Who shall be greater in France, *the Pope or the constituted authorities of the republic*? The Pope is asking *the individual Catholic to defy the laws of the state in which he lives*. Would we tolerate such a thing as that in America? *Would any American Catholic think for one moment of lifting his hand defiantly against the police power of the state*? Certainly not. The idea is preposterous. The state would not attempt to control the Catholic, the Baptist, the Methodist, the Episcopalian or the Presbyterian in any matter of conscience; *but the state has a perfect right to say in what manner religious corporations shall be formed*. It is a part of the police power of our government to regulate the manner in which corporations, religious or otherwise, shall constitute and conduct themselves. No sensible Catholic in all the broad scope of this American republic would think for one moment of denying to the constituted authorities of *the state* the right to use precisely the same legislative power which *the church* is now combatting in France.

The Catholic Rome rulers seek to establish in France the supremacy of the Italian priesthood by whom a Pope is always controlled. The Catholic Home rulers seek to put the Catholic church in France upon practically the same plane it occupies in the United States.

AMERICAN CATHOLICS.

Nowhere on earth is the Catholic church in so healthy a condition as in the United States. Nowhere on earth is it doing so much good, and conforming so closely to a truly Christian standard. Why is this so? Because our wise forefathers, thoroughly familiar with *the awful record of the crimes which had been committed against peoples by churches and kings*, determined that this republic should not make the mistake which had cost other nations so dear. Consequently the union of church and state was forbidden: the Catholic church is on the same level with other churches: the Italian priest has not had his foot on the Catholics of America: there has been in the Catholic church of America a certain amount of home rule, a certain amount of independence; and this element of home rule and individuality has partially kept the church clear of

those awful conditions *which have so often rotted the life out of it, and made it a scandal to the universe.*

If the Pope should undertake to do for the Catholic church of the United States what he is now proposing to do for the Catholic church of France, he would probably have a revolt on his hands. Were he to send out his orders from the Vatican *directing the Catholics of America to defy the laws of this land*, there would be a roar of anger which would even bring the Vatican to its senses.

The politicians of the sacred conclave are supposed to be the finest on earth. But if those clerical politicians are not making a huge mistake *now*, I am utterly incapable of passing judgment on the situation.

Why are they making a mistake? Because they are combatting modern progress, modern ideas of government, modern ideas of church life and church work. Not only is the Pope causing enormous damage *in France*, but if he persists, in his present policy *he will do the Catholic church of America immense harm.* How? By planting in the mind of every student of affairs in America this fear: *If the Catholic church in America continues for twenty years to grow as rapidly as it has grown during the last decade, the republic of the United States will have to contemplate a death-grapple with the Pope, similar to that which now endangers the life of the republic of France.*

(The foregoing was published in 1907, a year before the Pope issued his infamous *Ve temere*, annulling our marriage laws. The priests have enforced the foreign law, ruined Protestant wives, and bastardized Protestant children. (so far as the Pope's law could) thus showing that my opinion of American Catholics, in 1907, *was too favorable.*

During the year 1906, when the French Ministry was bringing about a separation of Church and State, the temper and the strength of the Catholic Church in America was demonstrated in a manner which ought to have aroused much more attention than it did. In New York, Washington City, and other great centers of population, indignation meetings were held, in which our sister republic, France was denounced in the most violent language, for doing precisely what the founders of our government did at the beginning.

One of the disastrous consequences of the Concordat which Napoleon concluded with the Pope, was the Prussian war of 1870, which was precipitated by that bigoted ~~dupe~~ of her confessor, the Empress Eugenie. The politicians of the Vatican bitterly hated Prussia, first, because it was a Protestant country, and second, because it opposed the Jesuits.

Manipulating the French government through the Empress, France was precipitated into a conflict for which she was not prepared, and in which she was crushed.

It was not, however, until Clemenceau became a member of the French Cabinet, that the formal abrogation of the treaty which Napoleon had made with the Pope was attempted.

After the bitterest opposition, in which the priesthood resorted to all of their pious frauds and complicated wire-pulling, the French government succeeded in putting the Catholic church on the same footing occupied by all other churches in France.

The wily politicians of the Vatican made the most of their strength in America. The purpose was to throw the public opinion of the United States in the scales against the French government. Our Vice-President, Mr. Fairbanks, so far forgot the proprieties, that he attended, in Washington City, one of the meetings in which a friendly government was outrageously misrepresented and abused. Not a word of protest or disclaimer did the Vice-President utter.

During this agitation, Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, a Jesuit and an Ultramontane, was conspicuous for the violence and the untruthfulness of his public statements. He boldly declared that the French Ministry hated God and were making war upon religion. Of course, the cardinal knew that these statements were false. The cardinal very well knew that those who were bringing about the separation of Church and State in France were, as a rule, Catholics themselves, and they were simply combatting clericalism and the special privilege which had been given by law to the Catholic priesthood.

Bishop Keiley, of the diocese of Savannah, Georgia, felt it his duty to declare that if the State of Georgia should pass a law interfering with the church duties of a Catholic, "I would be the first to announce that I expected the people in my diocese to break the law. The Pope is supreme and has authority from God, and no true believer would hesitate whether to obey the law of God or man. It would not be necessary for me to make any announcement, however; for, if the United States should attempt anything like France is doing, the Catholics would rise of their own accord and remove the bigots from power. The Catholic Church needs no secular arm to protect it."

Here we have the same spirit of clerical pride, arrogance and assumption of identity with God, which, in the old days when men were more superstitious, ignorant and idolatrous than now, compelled a German emperor to stand bare-footed three days in the snow, knocking in vain for permission to enter Canossa and plead his case with the Pope.

The bishop of Savannah is as much a supreme power as the bishop of Rome, for all historical students are well aware of the fact that the Pope is simply the head of the Church *by Clerical usurpation*, and that in fact he is the bishop of Rome, just as Keiley is the bishop of Savannah. One of them has as much authority from God as the other.

Those who have carefully watched the course of events, of late years, have not been slow to realize that in every great city of this Union the Catholic hierarchy controls. The political alliance between the saloon-keeper and the priest is an open secret throughout the Union, and it is largely responsible for the utter corruption that marks municipal politics everywhere.

Cardinal Gibbons himself has been unpleasantly conspicuous during recent years, and has been vehemently suspected of making political deals, first with one of the old parties, and then with the other. It would be interesting history if we could learn by what methods Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland have been able to secure for their Church so many millions of dollars of public money on the strength of petitions signed with the rude marks of wandering Indians. If the manner in which the Catholic Church draws money from the national treasury to support its denominational schools among the Indians, is not a violation of both the letter and the spirit of our constitution, then there can be no case cited which would be an outrage upon that fundamental law.

In the City of Washington itself, the Catholic institutions are constantly drawing money from the public funds. In one instance, which occurred a few years ago, it was claimed, upon what appeared to be convincing evidence, that these appropriations were obtained from the Republican leaders upon the distinct promise that, in thirty doubtful congressional districts, the Catholics should be ordered to vote the Republican ticket. It is a coincidence, which may or may not be significant, that the Catholics *did* get those appropriations for their Washington institutions, and that the Republicans *did* carry those thirty doubtful districts.

We all remember how Grover Cleveland became President. The luckless Burchard, making a perfunctory talk in the presence of Mr. Blaine, declared that the three evils from which this country had suffered most were "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." Within twenty-four hours, every Catholic voter in New York had received his orders from the hierarchy to vote against Blaine. Cleveland was declared to have carried the State of New York, which gave him the presidency, but it is a mooted question to this day as to whether the Catholic

politicians of Tammany Hall did not steal the majority for him.

As to Tammany Hall itself, which has been the dictator in national Democratic conventions and the despot of local politics in New York City, it is nothing in the world but the Catholic hierarchy, allied to the bar-room interests, and thus controlling the city. Recently they have increased the city debt by the enormous sum of \$356,000,000. This great metropolis of America is but a huge carcass, upon which Tammany and the Catholic hierarchy feed, and in which such exploiters of franchise privileges as Thomas F. Ryan grow enormously wealthy at the expense of the common people.

Only a few years ago, Anthony Comstock, acting at the instigation of the Catholic priests, arrested a vender of newspapers, upon the ground that the papers which he was selling were abusive to the Pope. If our press were not itself in deadly fear of the stealthy influence of the Catholic hierarchy, this act, which violates the freedom of the press, would have been denounced in thunder tones from one end of the country to the other. As it is, not a whisper has been heard. Denounce the President, as much as you like; distort his countenance and character, by caricature and cartoon; lie about him to any extent that you please; abuse Protestant preachers and Protestant bishops to the extent that your malice suggests. Nobody will interfere—the freedom of the press protects you; but it would seem that in New York there is to be one great and glorious exception. The Pope is to be immaculate, as well as infallible, and whoever dares to print and circulate anything against him, or his system, is to be treated as a criminal.

I think I state the exact truth when I say that I am free from religious bigotry. I have no prejudice whatever against any citizen because of his religious faith. I have the utmost respect for the individual Catholic who honestly believes in his creed; but the difference between one church organization and another may be a matter of extreme political importance, and I cannot understand how any student, conversant with political history, can be indifferent to the peculiar hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

No other church organization claims to exercise the right to say what books its members shall read. No other church openly takes part in political affairs. No other church sends and receives ambassadors. No other church holds a court, at which royal ceremonials is observed, embassies from foreign governments received, and far-reaching questions of international policy debated and decided. There is not a government of the civilized world, at whose capital

the Catholic Church is not represented by a resident agent. No question of national policy, which may directly or indirectly affect the Catholic Church, is decided upon until the Pope has been consulted. Throughout the civilized world run the threads of papal diplomacy, and the most prominent feature of recent political progress has been the wonderful success of Catholic statesmanship.

In Spain the progressive elements have striven in vain to shake off the yoke of Rome. In Austria, Catholicism is as supreme as it was in the days when the Jesuits and the Inquisition met and turned back the Reformation. In France, it is true, clericalism has been unhorsed. In Italy, where the Pope is seen at close range, and where the workings of the hierarchy are known intimately, the people have shown a determined inclination to revolt against Vatican tyranny. Recently the Catholics of the city of Rome itself elected to the mayoralty a man who is at once a declared enemy of the Catholic Church, a Mason who occupies a high office in the order, and who is, besides, a Jew. In fact, the double lives led by the Roman Conclave, and the deep duplicity and selfishness which mark the policies of the Vatican, are so well known in Italy, and so thoroughly detested, that the secular arm of the State has been necessary to the protection of the lives of the priests.

On the other hand, the German emperor, like his remote predecessor, has been made to go to Canossa. The laws which expelled the Jesuits have been repealed. The growth of democracy in the empire has been so phenomenal that the shrewd politicians of the Catholic Church took advantage of the helplessness of the government, forced an alliance upon it, and thus got for themselves what they wanted, while giving to the government the majorities needful to the passage of governmental measures.

In Protestant England, the Catholic Church is now the power behind the throne. The most influential members of the aristocracy are devoted Catholics. The trend of conversion among the very rich English lords is distinctly towards the Catholic Church. When Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador from the United States to the Court of St. James, gave his first grand banquet to the nobility of Great Britain, not a single Protestant divine was invited. Catholic cardinals were there, upon equal footing with the Prince of Wales, but no man of God tainted with the touch of the Reformation was present.

That the secret influence of the Roman hierarchy controls Congress is shown by facts which cannot be disputed, and which cannot otherwise be explained. Why was it that the school teachers in New Mexico could not be instructed to

teach the English language in the public schools? Why was it that the continued and exclusive use of the Spanish language was sanctioned by law in this American territory? The English language was objectionable to the Catholic hierarchy, because it would carry with it the knowledge of the English Bible, and the Catholic Church did not want any Protestant Bibles in New Mexico. By teaching Spanish in New Mexico the Catholic Church preserves its monopoly, and our cowardly politicians voted as the priests demanded that they should.

McKinley's Cabinet was partly Catholic, and the influence which the Pope exerted upon that administration was shown by the way in which the War Department hastened to grant to the Catholics a portion of the national domain at West Point. They asked for some of the Government land to build a church on, and they got it. Other denominations outnumbered the Catholics at West Point, but these other denominations have not been able to get any of the national property.

Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet was partly Catholic. Attorney General Bonaparte was probably the selection of Cardinal Gibbons for that high position, and it is probable that the secret of why the Department of Justice did not bring Edward H. Harriman and Thomas F. Ryan to the bar, and punish them for notorious crimes which they had recently committed, is that these two gigantic criminals were both liberal friends of the Catholic hierarchy. Ryan gave a million dollars for the building of the Catholic cathedral in Richmond, Va., and Harriman's gifts to the Church are on a scale of the same calculating generosity.

Wherever the Catholic Church controls, it persecutes. No Protestant can safely preach or sell Bibles in Spain, or in South America. This could not be done in Mexico until the revolt of the Liberals against the Clericals. It was not until Mexico threw off priest-rule that she began to make those magnificent strides upward and onward, which have excited the admiration of the world.

In the Philippine Islands, shortly before their occupation by the Americans, torture was applied to captives and to heretics, in the same manner that it was applied by the Inquisition to heretics in the Middle Ages. Only a few years ago, the Literary Digest, of New York, copied an article from a leading paper in South America, in which the Inquisition was eulogized in the highest terms, and the rack, the wheel and the stake were hysterically praised.

Quite recently the Pope declared war upon what he called "Modernism." He was alarmed at the growth of independent thought. His purpose was that which has ever actuated the head of a hierarchy. He wished to discourage research, to

check inquiry, and to fasten again the rebellious minds of men to the old, old orthodoxy, which was never so happy as when the world took, in a liberal sense, the clerical admonition that men should become as children. Papal endorsement has been given unreservedly to the dogma that the Protestant religion is *not better than no religion at all*. The papal position is that Protestantism must be uprooted and cast out as a damnable heresy.

Where any church claims and exercises the right to exert political influence, it behooves good citizens to study the history of that church and the tendency of its teachings.

To judge a tree by its fruits is a fair rule. Now that the Catholic Church is likely to take such a controlling part in our national affairs, it is well that we should ask ourselves a few questions.

When and where has the Roman Catholic Church done anything for the masses of the people—for the sacred cause of freedom of labor, freedom of vote, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, or freedom of conscience?

When has it ever failed to side with enthroned tyranny, against Reform,—from the days of Philip II, when it burnt one hundred thousand men who dared to think for themselves, down to the day in 1896, when the Pope's blessing was breathed upon the Spanish flag, and his prayers went with the troops who were to burn Cuban houses and fields, torture and slay Cuban patriots, insult and outrage Cuban maids and matrons, and make a smoking hell of a country whose people demanded no more than the Catholics of Ireland demanded of Protestant England, and upon far better grounds?

To the very last, the Catholic Church stood by the institution of slavery, and was the last to give up her slaves. To the very last, the Catholic Church opposed freedom of conscience and of worship. To the very last, it opposed the separation of Church and State. To the very last, it opposed the general education of the masses, and is today the mortal enemy of the public schools. To the very last, it opposed self-government by the people, and is today the staunch defender of the "Divine Right of Kings."

A very particular reason why the people of this country should be concerned about the startling growth of Catholic power is, that *the Catholic Church boasts that it never changes*. The good Catholic claims today that the Pope is infallible, and that all the Popes have been true and worthy vice-gerents of Christ.

He claims that the Protestant is a heretic, and he believes

that it would be a mercy to bind him upon a jagged iron wheel, and beat heresy out of him with a club.

He believes that his priest can pardon sin, and that money liberally spent in buying prayers can lift the sinner out of hell.

He believes that the wine of the Sacrament is the actual blood of Christ, and the bread the actual body.

We are all prone to believe that which is constantly said and never denied. The profound policy of the Catholic Church is to cut off its converts from the world and keep them from hearing, reading or thinking anything which might encourage doubt.

The Catholic Church wants its converts to have Faith—blind, unreasoning faith in the priest, faith in the Church, and faith in the Catholic statement of every case.

To reach this result, the Pope dictates the books which shall be read, what newspapers shall be patronized, and what pictures shall be used.

Pope Leo XIII revised the list of "Forbidden Books." He declared that the new rules on the subject of "Forbidden Books" were so mildly formulated that it would be easy for good Catholics to obey the new rules.

What are these new rules which a good Catholic must observe in choosing his reading matter?

1. "All those writings which were prohibited previous to the year 1600, except where special decrees have since made exceptions, are prohibited now."

What books were prohibited previous to the year 1600, and which of those books have been acquitted of blame during the 197 years since 1600?

2. "All books written by apostates, heretics, schismatics," are forbidden.

Away goes your Milton and your Shakespeare, your Burns and your Byron, your Cowper and your Wordsworth, your Tennyson and your Browning! They were all heretics.

Hume must not be read, nor Gibbon, nor Hallam, nor Froude, nor Carlyle. They were all heretics.

A good Catholic must not drink the pure delight of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," nor must he ever hang enraptured over Keat's "Grecian Urn". He must never walk the rich fields of Charles Reade and Charles Dickens—never laugh with Thackeray, nor sigh with Hood; never soar with Shelley, dream with Coleridge, nor view the gems of Walter Savage Landor.

All the golden fruit of genius, choicest apples of literature's Gardens of Hesperides, is fruit forbidden to a good Catholic,—for when God lit the lamp of genius in the minds

of these wonderfully gifted heretics, and touched their souls into celestial music, He forgot that the Pope would measure all the mental universe with the contemptible little tape-line of denominational intolerance.

To a good Catholic, all the eloquence, wit, wisdom and patriotism of American history is a lost land, for the deadly brand of heresy lies upon the whole of it. Excepting Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, and a baker's dozen besides, the whole outfit, from Washington to Jefferson, and Thomas Paine, were rank heretics, deserving to be burnt.

What sort of intelligence would a good Catholic have, if he should obey the rules which the Pope says are so mildly framed?

What sort of knowledge does any man have, when he is forbidden to read on both sides of the case?

What better scheme could be devised for putting power into the hands of the priests?

How could a good Catholic ever be anything, mentally, but a child, if he is denied the privilege of reading, thinking, comparing and judging?

But the rules, which Pope Leo XIII so mildly framed, do not stop here. They forbid the good Catholic to read any book on religion, except those written by Catholics. Books which criticise the Pope, cardinals, priests, church doctrines and usages, are forbidden. The Pope does not wish that his people shall be told a great many things which they ought to know. He wants them to know nothing beyond what the priests see fit to tell them.

No good Catholic must read *ANY* book, or other publication, which treats of religious subjects, without submitting said book or publication, to the judgment of the priests.

Such rules as these sound strangely out of place in this age of progress and of research.

If a creed is sound, why should it fear investigation?

Conscious error could not possibly show more guilty timidity in screening itself from honest inquiry than the Catholic Church displays in these rules which command good Catholics to read no books excepting those which have been inspected, tagged and branded by the Pope.

Of all the slavery in this world, the most degrading is mental and spiritual slavery; and we look upon the huge growth of the Catholic Church in political power as an ominous fact, because the natural tendency of its creed is to make the people superstitious, intolerant and priest-ridden.

But while our politicians continue to be cowards, and our Protestant ministers continue to be silent, Catholic diplomacy will march onward triumphantly, until the day will come

when Protestantism will have to fight for dear life, in a land which its blind devotees believe is dedicated forever to free speech, free thought, and free worship.

THE JESUIT'S OATH.

"I, A. B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Blessed Michael the Archangel, the Blessed St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and the saints and Sacred Host of Heaven, and to you, my Ghostly father, I do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that the Pope is Christ's Vicar General and is the true and only Head of the Universal Church throughout the earth, and that by virtue of the Keys of binding and loosing given to His Holiness by Jesus Christ, He hath power to depose Heretical Kings, Princes, States, Commonwealths and Governments, all being illegal without his sacred confirmation, and that they may safely be destroyed. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I will defend this doctrine and His Holiness's rights and customs against all Usurpers of the Heretical or Protestant Authority whatsoever, especially against the now pretended Authority and Church in England and all Adherents in regard that they be Usurped and Heretical, opposing the Sacred Mother Church of Rome.

"I do renounce and disown any Allegiance as due to any heretical King, Prince or State, named Protestant, or obedience to any of their inferior Magistrates or officers.

"I do further declare the doctrine of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots and other Protestants, to be damnable, and those to be damned who will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist and advise all or any of His Holiness's agents, in any place wherever I shall be; and to do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestant doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended power, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, that notwithstanding I am *dispensed* with to assume any religion heretical for the propagation of the Mother Church's interest to keep secret and private all her agents, counsels as they entrust me, and not to divulge, directly or indirectly, by word writing or circumstance whatsoever, but to execute all which shall be protected, given in charge or discovered unto me, by you, my ghostly father, or by any one of this convent.

"All of which I, A. B., do swear by the Blessed Trinity, and Blessed Sacrament which I am about to receive, to perform, on my part to keep inviolably; and do call on all the Heavenly and Glorious Host of Heaven to witness my real intentions to keep this, my oath. In testimony whereof, I take

this most Holy and Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist and witness the same further with my hand and seal, in the face of the holy convent."

This oath was exposed in the celebrated Lavalette law suit in France, where Marseilles merchants sued the Jesuit Society on dishonored drafts, and the Parliament of Paris compelled the Jesuits to produce their secret ritual, constitutions and obligations.

In consequence of the exposure of this diabolical oath, the Jesuits were expelled.

PROTESTANT HUSBANDS AND WIVES LIVE IN "FILTHY CONCOUBINAGE," AND THEIR CHILDREN ARE BASTARDS, SAYS ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

Two of the important decrees of the Council of Trent (16th Century) denied to Catholic laymen the right to read the Bible, and denounced as invalid all marriages among Christians save those celebrated by a priest. Those laws are still in force. In every Catholic translation of the Book stands a conspicuous admonition, warning Catholic laymen against reading it; and the law of marriage is also the same as it was in the 16th century.

Pope Pius IX re-codified the Papal laws, and this Code is known as the Syllabus of 1864.

The syllabus was solemnly confirmed by Pius IX., on June 17th, 1867: it is the latest, fullest official statement of the creed of popery, in its relation to States, modern institutions, and democratic principles.

In that *papal law*, the 15th article declares it to be *an error* to hold that every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe to be true.

Article 17, holds it to *be error* for any one to teach that salvation may be hoped for in any other religion than that of Rome.

Article 24, asserts that the Roman Church has the power to use external force. She has also a direct and an indirect temporal power.

Article 45: The public schools must not be controlled by the State.

Article 47: The State should not withdraw the schools from the control of the Roman Catholic Church.

Article 55: The Roman Church is not to be separated from the State, nor the State from the Roman Church.

Article 71: The Tridentine (Council of Trent) form (of marriage) is binding, *even* where the law of the State has

proscribed another form and makes the validity of the marriage depend upon it.

Article 73: *No true marriage can exist between Christians by force of a civil contract.*

Article 77: The Catholic religion should be held as the only State religion, to the exclusion of all other forms of religion.

Article 79: Freedom of worship, and freedom of speech and of press, leads to corruption of manners and sentiments.

Article 20. The Roman Pope can not be reconciled to modern civilization and progress, or compromise with them.

So much for the Syllabus.

(See "The Popes, Kings and People," Wm. Arthur, Vol. 1, pages 55 and following.)

Let us investigate further, and locate "the mean liar" who has been telling "a pack of lies" on this foreign church, and its popes.

In the twenty-one Canons set forth in *Documenta* 11, p. 101, I find the following *curses*:

6. If any man say that her (the Roman Church's) *intolerance* in the condemnation of all sects *is not divinely commanded*, or that sects *ought to be tolerated*, let him be *accused*. (Anathema.)

In the eyes of Rome, there is no Church but hers: the others are "sects."

In his Encyclical of 1864, Pius IX. pronounces the "Curse of Rome" upon "all who teach *that marriage among Protestants is binding*."

Pius IX. went further, and he declared that all such marriages amounted to no more than "filthy concubinage."

(*Discorsi di Pio Nono, Roma, 1872, 1873*. Discourses of Pius Ninth, Rome. Vol. 1, page 193, and Vol. 2, page 355.

In those Discourses, the Head of the Roman Catholic Church, *delivering the doctrine which Catholics are bound to receive as infallible*, declared that all Protestant marriages, *were no marriages at all*.

He said that the living together of Protestants, under *their* forms and ceremonies, was "merely concubinage," "only concubinage," "*filthy concubinage*," and this lascivious Italian priest, Pope Pius IX., added, "the State prevents the *two concubinary parties* from repenting and abandoning *their guilty relations to one another*."

The rotten old libertine who announced this infamous doctrine, *in his published discourses*, was merely reasserting the atrocious decrees of the Council of Trent.

Proposition 73 of the Syllabus of Pius IX. (1864-7), de-

clares that it is *error*, to teach that "a merely civil contract among Christians constitutes marriage."

It is *error* to say that "it is false that the contract is *null*, if the sacrament be excluded."

To state it more simply:

A civil marriage among Christians is null and void, *unless the Catholic Church performs the ceremony.*

To make this infernal doctrine still more devilish, the motive was, *to get the money, and to control the wife and children.*

Proposition 66 of the Syllabus of 1864, reads:

"It (the State) has not the right to declare the marriage contract separable from the sacrament of marriage"—meaning, of course, the Romanist "sacrament," because no other church holds that marriage is "a sacrament."

The Bible teaches no such absurd doctrine: it was invented by the priests, *for the priests.*

Proposition 71 of the Pope, Pius IX. Syllabus reads:

"It (the State) has not the right to uphold any marriage solemnized *otherwise than according to the form prescribed by the Council of Trent*, even if solemnized according to the form prescribed by the civil law."

Do you realize that, *even now*, the Roman Catholic priests are violating the laws of Georgia and other States by compelling Catholic citizens to obey the laws made by the Italian pope?

Do you understand that those laws made by the Italian pope violate our laws?

I do not believe that our people have got hold of the fact, and comprehend the full meaning of it.

Let me explain—and do you explain it to your neighbors and friends.

Several years ago, the Italian pope published to the whole world *a revival of an old law of the Middle Ages*, and ordered his priests to enforce it.

That old law of the Italian popes had lain dormant for ages, and the Protestants had been made to believe that Rome would never revive it.

But as she gains in strength, *through Immigration and the dry rot of the Protestant churches*, the Roman church puts on more and more of her mediæval armor.

In advancing her claims, she put forth what is known as the *Ne temere* decree.

That decree is a revival of one of the ancient Roman dogmas, *that a marriage is no marriage at all, unless solemnized by a man who is not allowed to marry—to-wit, a Roman priest.*

That infamous doctrine reduces all non-Catholic wives to the position of concubines, and all non-Catholic children to the position of bastards.

In the coarse, insulting language of these red-faced, pot-bellied priests, your wife is the woman you are living with, and you are the man she is living with, and your idolized children are the fruits of sin.

These are the coarse, insulting men who carry the keys to the dens where 56,000 American girls are locked in behind the heavy doors, the high walls, and the barred windows.

These thick-lipped meat eaters and wine drinkers straddle around in the chemise and the gown, and pretend not to feel the same passions as other red-jowled meat eaters and wine drinkers; and they lay their foul tongues to such talk as I have already indicated.

These are the men who say that the Knights of Columbus should mob and murder any American that dares to say a word against those ~~bull-necked convent keepers~~, or in favor of the liberation of the 56,000 American women whom they keep under lock and key in their dens of vice!

Although these Georgia Catholics are born citizens and vote at elections, serve on juries, and hold offices, they are traitorously obeying the Italian Pope, in the matter of marriage.

Men who are legally married, under Georgia law, are told by the traitor priests, that they are living in adultery, and they are made to desert their wives and children.

That kind of treason was never heard of in this country, before the Civil War. In fact, it began in 1908, with the Pope's publication of his infamous *Ne temere* decree, *annulling the American laws of marriage*.

The priests never before brought that foreign law into this Union, and used it to break up happy homes.

Why are they doing it now?

(7.) The foreign church is waging systematic war upon our constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

Before the Civil War, some of the most powerful papers and books were published against Popery.

Hogan, Elliott, Kirwan, Dwight, Carroll, Chiniquy, Maria Monk, and scores of others published fearful arraignment of the popish system, showing now it uses the name of religion to gain political power, worldly possession and the use of women.

These books halted the progress of this terrible foreign church—this conglomeration of Italian secret societies whose

American laymen have no idea of what it really is, what it really *does*, and what it really *aims at*.

I repeat it—the average American Catholic has no conception of the terrible inner secrets and purposes of the Italian secret societies who control the Roman Catholic Church.

Rome's purpose is to plant, in this Republic, a *foreign authority and a foreign system of laws*.

If the Baptist Church to which I have belonged since the age of fourteen, were violating the laws of this State, as the Catholics are doing, I would combat it, as earnestly as I now combat *lawless, political Romanism*.

If the Baptist Church had its hands in the State treasury, *drawing out funds to support my own alma mater, Mercer University*, I would denounce the violation of our Constitution, as emphatically as I denounce the Catholic priests of Savannah and Augusta, *for drawing State money to finance the Pope's sectarian schools*.

It isn't the freedom of Catholic worship that I am fighting.

No! Not an act, or a word of mine can be so construed.

What I am fighting is, a foreign hierarchy that is *now* beginning to reveal its political anti-American, and anti-democratic nature; and whose fundamental laws are irreconcilably antagonistic to the fundamental laws of this Republic, which our heroic forefathers cemented, and consecrated, with their precious blood.

Let not American Catholics, or American non-Catholics, underrate the terrible meaning of this deadly antagonism between the Law of Rome and the Law of the Republic.

Our Constitution stands for everything that Romanism declares to be "damnable heresy."

Romanism stands for everything that was combated and overthrown by John Calvin, John Knox, Martin Luther, William of Orange, John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and Patrick Henry.

The papal curse which a pope launched against the Great Charter of our liberties, *was required of him by the fundamental Law of Rome*.

The same Law of the papacy denounces our American liberties, *as damnable heresies which must not be tolerated*, any longer than can be helped.

To every honest, loyal American Catholic comes the issue, and he must decide whether he will take his religion *only*, or his religion, *and his law*, from a foreign potentate.

Bernard Brown and Frank S. Boifeuillet decided that *they* would take both their religion and their law *from Rome*; and

it is extremely fortunate for these two law-breakers that the women whom they cast aside in obedience to a foreign law—*only seven years old in this country*—had no male relatives who were disposed to redress the dastardly wrongs of those innocent wives, by the usual route of the unwritten law.

The source of this infamous *Ne temere* law, is the Council of Trent, wherein the high-priests and the Jesuits labored, off and on for eighteen years, to unify the Romanists, harmonize papal dogmas, and prepare a creed that would not only solidify the papists, but would disrupt the Reformation.

One of the articles agreed on at this Council of Trent was, *that no marriage was valid unless performed by the Roman Catholic Church.*

Thus, a miscellaneous gathering of nun-keeping bachelors, arrogated to themselves the exclusive power to fix the marital status of the whole Christian world!

Therefore, the *Ne temere* law has been a dogma of Romanism for more than 350 years.

It has constantly been enforced in Roman Catholic countries; but of course the greater number of non-Catholics were not aware of the fact.

Why did the Romanists wait until 1908 to introduce that infernal dogma into our country?

Why did not Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Keily proclaim it, *twenty years ago?*

Why did not the Italian Pope proclaim it in this country, *fifty years ago, or one hundred years ago?*

They did not proclaim it, *because they were weak.*

They did not dare to whisper such a law of Rome, *until all the States had been wheedled into the repeal of anti-Catholic statutes*, and the Italian Pope had gained the balance of political power in our Republic.

When Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and the Tammany machine, *had grown strong enough to throw the Presidency to a Democrat, or to a Republican, THEN*, indeed, the unfolding of Romanist ambition rapidly progressed.

(1.) These Romanist politicians compelled the leaders of both the great political parties *to strike out of their platforms, the time-honored plank which commended our public school system.*

Why did Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland do that?

They did it as a prelude to the savage war they are now waging on our public schools—these nurseries of democracy being one of the five great national evils, according to the sly old Jesuit, James Gibbons.

(2.) The Romanists also compelled our President to receive, officially, an ambassador from the Italian Church.

Why didn't they make that demand before the Civil War?

The official reception of an ambassador from *any* church, is a violation of the principles upon which our Republic rests.

The President would not receive an envoy from the Church of England, nor from the Waldensian Church of Italy, nor from the Patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church.

Why should our Government surrender to the Vatican, and receive an ambassador from this foreign potentate, *whose official position and organic law makes him the implacable foe of every democratic principle?*

American Catholics complain bitterly, when I refer to their church *as foreign*.

Isn't it foreign? If not, what could make it so?

The head of the church is an Italian; and the head of it has been Italian for 800 years. The head of it always will be Italian.

Why? *Because popes are named by cardinals, and cardinals are named by popes.*

Seven hundred years ago, the Italians got the upper hand in the Electoral College (the "Sacred College"), and, ever since, they appoint an Italian Pope who will appoint a sufficient number of Italian cardinals *to keep the papacy in the local family*.

Again, if the Romanist Church is not foreign, why does its ambassador come from Italy? If it *must* have an official representative at our National Capital, why wasn't one of the Irish cardinals of this country named for the office?

The Papa has to be an Italian, the inner circle of the Vatican have to be Italians the keepers of the papal *secret cipher have to be Italians, and the ambassador has to be an Italian*.

All of this looks foreign, doesn't it?

But, again, *the laws of the Roman Church are made in Italy*. Moreover, they are made in secret.

When the Papa's Italian court summons an American to Rome *for trial*, he has to go.

Example: Father Glynn, of New York.

Does "A Catholic Layman" believe that any foreign court should exercise the power of compelling citizens of this Republic to go to a foreign country for trial?

That very thing was one of the causes of the Revolutionary War, and is so stated in our Declaration of Independence—which was recently denounced in Archbishop Blenk's New Orleans paper, *The Morning Star*.

A foreign Pope, a foreign Electoral College, a foreign law,

a foreign court, a foreign ambassador: if all these do not make the Roman church a foreign affair, *what could?*

My contention is, that *Romanism has just begun to show its hand. IT IS JUST BEGINNING TO UNMASK.*

Previous to the Civil War, it professed humility, begged for toleration, bowed to our laws, made no effort to choke the press into silence, and did not openly ride, first one political party and then the other, *in running to its own goal.*

It did not demand the reception of an ambassador.

It did not demand a portion of our public land, at the West Point Military Academy, for the erection of a Romanist church.

It had not demanded the promotion of *papist chaplains* to the position and pay of U. S. *officers in our Navy.*

It had not begun to filch money out of the National treasury, for the support of Romanist institutions and schools.

It had not established a lobby in Washington to defeat legislation which its foreign ruler opposed—the Immigration bill, for example.

It had not begun the utterly infamous crusade against the intermarriage of Catholics and Protestants.

Bernard Brown, the Railroad engineer, was a citizen and voter of Georgia, and had long been married to a Georgia woman who had made him a good wife. After the treasonous introduction of the infamous *Ne temere* law, at Easter 1908, the priests compelled Brown to desert his faithful helpmeet when she insisted that the laws of the State were binding and that her marriage was valid. She was not willing to confess that she had been living "in sin"; she refused to admit that the law of a foreign country could annul a marriage which was perfectly legal under the laws of her State.

So, she was cast adrift, her home broken up, her life blighted by a traitor-priest who under the Elizabethan laws of England would have been put to death for *treason.*

In the Ordinary's office, Macon, Georgia, in Marriage License book "M", page 473, there is of record a certificate to the effect that Rev. John G. Harrison—a Methodist minister—performed the ceremony, under a State license, which made Frank S. Boifeuillet the husband of Edith May Taylor, Dec. 4, 1912.

Here were State citizens, acting through State officials, under State laws, *married legally.*

A foreign potentate, acting through one of his subjects, approaches this wife, and tells her that she is a concubine, because of her husband's alleged "religion"; and that she must confess herself *not married*, and accept marriage by a priest, *under the foreign law*, or her husband will desert her.

She refuses to repudiate the laws of her State. She refuses to concede that the law of a foreign country is superior to the laws of her own. She stands for the supremacy of Georgia law, *in Georgia*. She maintains the State's marriage laws bind all citizens of the State.

Because she does this, the priest compels Boifeuillet to leave her and his children!

Her subsequent action is thus reported in the Macon, Ga., Telegraph, Nov. 5, 1915:

"Mrs. Edith Mae Boifeuillet alleged cruel mental treatment at the hands of her husband, Frank S. Boifeuillet. Testimony introduced in court showed that Mrs. Boifeuillet is a Baptist and that her husband is a Catholic, and that religious difference was the cause of remarks which she attributes to him, which she alleged caused her mental anguish and pain. It was stated that he told her that, because they had married out of the Catholic Church, the children were illegitimate. However, a first verdict was awarded on the ground of marriage procured by fraud. The plaintiff was represented by Attorney Nottingham.

The lady in this case was the grand-daughter of Eden Taylor, one of the best known planters of middle Georgia—a deacon in the Baptist Church.

She married Boifeuillet in *strict conformity to the laws of Georgia*, and the fact, is of record in the Ordinary's office in Macon.

Apparently, they were living together happily, and were blessed with children; but the Italian Pope's infamous law was proclaimed in this country, and the priests ordered to enforce it. By that foreign law—the *Ne temere* decree—it was declared that *the civil power* of the State had no authority over *Catholic citizens* in the matter of marriage. In other words, *this foreigner*, the Italian Pope, *claimed the right to annul state laws*.

Such has been the law of the Italian Church ever since the Council of Trent, 1563; but it had never been proclaimed in this country, because the Catholics were not strong enough to brave public opinion. Now, however, it is different. Through unrestricted immigration, Protestant dry-rot, Foreign Missions fanaticism, and the combined venality and cowardice of our papers and politicians, the Romanists believe they are strong enough to introduce Papal foreign-law, to override ours.

Boifeuillet never even thought of his marriage as being illegal and never had an idea that he was the father of bastards, until after his treasonous priest instructed him on the *Ne temere* decree. Then he called his children illegitimate and his wife a concubine, in obedience to a foreign law which

the infernal priest told him was binding on his "conscience."

To satisfy his "conscience," he committed the dastardly crime of disowning his own lawful wife and children.

To assume the salvation of what he takes to be his "soul," he deserts the woman whom he had vowed to love and protect, until *death*, not the Pope, should divide them.

To make himself certain of Heaven, he betrays a trusting wife, abandons his offspring, violating the laws of his State, wrecking the whole life of the one woman who ever loved him—or who ever will love him—leaving her blighted and helpless for she is neither wife, maid, nor widow.

And, strange to say, the Codes of all our civilized States, which make it a felony to steal a hog, and a capital crime to burn a dwelling, provide no punishment whatever for a guilty man who betrays a confiding woman, as this man did.

Does this foreign church control national politics, and national legislation, in purely *civil* affairs?

Two citizens of Georgia, one a Catholic and the other a Protestant, fall in love with each other and marry, in strict loyal accordance to Georgia law.

They live in happiness, and perhaps are blessed with children; and they never dream of dissatisfaction, until the Italian Pope revives an ancient papal law, 350 years old—adopted as a dogma of the Roman Church by the Council of Trent, in the sixteenth century.

That law was made in Europe, before Protestantism had battled for, and won, *the right to live*.

That law was never heard of in this country, until 1908: *it arrogates to itself the authority to annul the marriage laws of every State in our Union*.

The Macon priest, obeying the orders of the foreign potentate, of whom he is the sworn subject, goes to the happy home of that Catholic husband, and tells him, in effect, that the laws of Georgia can not validly marry him; that he is living in sin with the woman who, by the laws of Georgia, is his wedded wife; and that he must admit the concubinage, *by his obedience to the laws of Rome*, and his acceptance of a remarriage, *by Rome*.

Tens of thousands of such marriages had taken place, and the Catholic husband had lived and died in happy ignorance of the devilish "law" of the Roman church which declared him to be a fornicator, his wife a concubine; and his children, bastards.

If that foreign law carries out the will of God, when it *now* breaks up a lawful home, stigmatizes and ruins the wife, and places the children where they have no legitimate father, or mother, *was it not the Pope's duty to have proclaimed the*

Ne temere decree, in England, Canada, and the United States, a hundred years ago?

What was the reason we never suffered from it until the year 1908?

Will "A Catholic Layman" tell us why his Holy Papa played the inglorious part of *accomplice in crime*?

It is an amazing thing that a respectable man of ordinary intelligence, should allow an immoral priest to so enslave his mind, that he honestly believes his religion requires him to *violate the Golden Rule and to commit a dastardly crime* upon the one human being that had the holiest right to look to him for protection.

Of all the men in God's creation, the last man to smite a trustful wife, and wither the rest of her life, is the husband who plighted his faith, as sacredly as fidelity can be pledged.

According to The Telegraph, the State has nothing to do with it, because the Italian Pope has not set up any "Spanish Inquisition of St. Bartholomew Eve" in this State.

But The Telegraph did not answer my questions.

I begged it to explain why the Roman Catholics should be allowed to indulge in a violation of our laws, any more than Jews, Mormans, and Mohammedans.

Was the failure of The Telegraph to answer due to its inability to do so?

My neighbor says that the law of Georgia would compel Brown and Boifeuillet to support those abandoned wives—*whom they solemnly swore NOT to mistreat*—and The Telegraph adds:

"What more our laws can be expected to do, The Telegraph can not quite see."

Is The Telegraph quite sure that it is living up to its standard, as "a staid and sober old family paper," *when it measures the sanctity of homes and the rights of wives by the sufficiency of the alimony?*

Is there money enough under the sun to stop the bleeding of a human heart?

Is there a court in Georgia that can put a valuation on a blighted life and a desolate home?

I feel sure this staid and sober old family paper did not weigh its words, when it said, in effect, that the laws of Georgia were powerless to protect the Protestant, legally married wives of this State from the infernal machinations of Roman priests, who ruin these innocent women, by enforcing upon their husbands the Pope's Italian law.

The *Ne temere* decree is a recent importation: neither Brown nor Boifeuillet ever heard of it, before they were married.

They never would have heard of it, *had not their priest proclaimed it and ordered them to obey it.*

The priest himself never thought of such a law, until a few years ago.

It came to him from his foreign ruler; and he, *the vassal of his foreign potentate*, is ordered to enforce it. He does so, regardless of the laws of Georgia.

Neither his "conscience," nor the consciences of Brown and Boifeuillet, ever bothered them concerning these mixed marriages, before the *Ne temere* law was introduced here from Italy, less than ten years ago.

The ruin of these Protestant wives is not due to anything, *except that infamous foreign decree.*

It is a part of the canonical law and dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, which holds that no marriages are valid save those performed by an unmarried priest.

And these gross, unmarried priests, *who keep concubines instead of taking wives*, dare to insult us married Protestants by saying we are living in "filthy concubinage."

I will not weary our readers by quoting the words of the ancient English laws, which were enacted by *Catholic* parliaments, approved by *Catholic* kings, and administered by *Catholic* judges, against those Catholic priests who brought into England *any decree, bull, excommunication, interdict, etc., from the Pope.*

Those laws punished with life-long imprisonment, the Catholic subjects of the English king, *who obeyed any such papal decree.*

Does anyone suppose that so great a warrior, so wise a statesman, so just a monarch as Edward I. of England, would have legislated on this matter, had he not realized its profound importance?

He was so devout a Catholic, that he led the last crusade to recover the Holy Land; but he gave the Pope to understand that he would not tolerate any priestly interference with the civil government of England.

His successors were Catholics down to the time of Queen Elizabeth, but they rigorously enforced the statutes against just such popish decrees as the *Ne temere*.

Most people, of course, have an idea that Treason means war, or the aiding of the armed foes of the State.

But there is a treason more insidious and more dangerous, and it was *that* which the Catholic kings of England aimed at with those *premature* laws.

Any citizen who aids in the setting up of a foreign authority and law in our midst—in deadly antagonism to ours—is *a traitor at heart.*

As every lawyer knows, Blackstone was so much of a Tory and churchman, that Thomas Jefferson detested his Commentaries, preferring Coke; but Blackstone was so stalwart an Englishman and patriot that he devoted a lengthy chapter, vibrating with strong feeling, in explanation and encomium of the *Catholic legislation* which made it felonious treason to set up a papal decree within the realm.

Blackstone seems pleased when he alludes to the fact that *the Catholic King*, Edward I., beheaded an Englishman Catholic who had brought into England *the Pope's excommunication of a fellow citizen*.

This warrior-statesman recognized *the anarchy* which would be the consequence of permitting a foreign potentate to measure the rights and fix the status of Englishmen.

The State is the sovereign, and heir to all the ancient powers of the crown.

When did the crown ever treat with unconcern *the introduction of a foreign law into the Realm?*

Let the student read Chapter VIII. of Book IV., of Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England; and it will realize how sound is my position.

Had the Macon priest lived in the days, succeeding the reign of Edward I. of England, he would have been *tried for treason, under the praemunire statutes, AND WOULD HAVE LOST HIS HEAD.*

Had Boifeuillet lived under those *Catholic Kings* of England, and given his obedience to the law of the Italian Pope, the *Catholic courts* of England would have sentenced him to *lifelong imprisonment*, and to confiscation of his property.

England was intensely Catholic, when the *praemunire* statutes were adopted, and she remained so for centuries; but *her Catholics* were patriots first, and papists, afterwards; and *they manfully refused to bend their necks to a foreign law.*

How can anyone regard the relation of husband and wife as a *private matter?*

What State ever treated this fundamental relation of society, as a private matter?

The home is the basis of civilization, and, of course, marriage is the basis of the home.

Are we to be told that Catholic priests can destroy lawful homes, *by compelling Catholic husbands to desert their Protestant wives*, and that it is none of the State's business?

If it is not the State's business, why make any laws on the relation of Husband and Wife?

If it is none of the State's business, why do we make laws declaring what constitutes a lawful marriage?

After the State does declare what shall be a lawful mar-

riage, for her own citizens, is it no concern of the State if her own citizens violate those laws?

If a Turk comes here from Constantinople, clings to his religion, and persuades three Macon ladies to marry him, all at the same time, it is nobody's business, but that of the Turk and the three Macon ladies!

If a Mormon moves in upon us, clings to his polygamous inclinations, and prevails upon five or ten Macon ladies to unite with him in the bonds of wedlock, it is nobody's business, save that of the Mormon and those five or ten Macon ladies!

I copy two of those statements, and challenge any priest to refute them:

"We Are Foreigners."

"He (the pope) tells us we must be foreigners, we (Catholic) Christians must be foreigners; foreigners in every land and in every country in the world; foreigners under every sky; foreigners under every law; foreigners everywhere and always. And that is why we Catholics are universally expatriated. Every country would claim us; every country would like to have us as its own. England would like to have her Catholics all Englishmen; France would like to have her Catholics all Frenchmen; Italy, Spain and Germany would like to have their Catholics thorough nationalists; and here in the United States they would like to have us Catholics Americans first and before everything. Well, we would like to be accommodating; we do the best we can, but the truth of the matter is, we can never be French, or English, or Italian, or German, or American; we can never be these things entirely. And why? Because we are uncompromising foreigners, and we must never forget that by our own laws we are foreigners. We must never deny our character as foreigners."—Western Watchman.

"To Hell With the Government."

"We of the Catholic Church are ready to go to the death for the church. Under God, she is the supreme object of our worship. Tell us that we think more of the church than we do of the United States; of course we do. Tell us we are Catholics first and Americans or Englishmen afterward; of course we are. Tell us, in the conflict between the church and the civil government we take the side of the church; of course we do. Why, if the government of the United States were at war with the church we would say tomorrow, to hell with the government of the United States; and if the church and all the governments of the world were at war we would say, to hell with all the governments of the world. They say we are Catholics first and Americans decidedly afterward. We are Catholics first and we love the church more than we love any and all the governments of the world. Let the governments of the world steer clear of the Catholic Church; let the Emperors, let the Kings, and the Presidents not come into conflict with the head of the Catholic Church. Because the Catholic Church is everything to all the Catholics of the world; they renounce all nationalities where there is a question of loyalty to her."—Western Watchman.

Of course, this treason to our Government and to all governments, grows out of the fact, that the Italian Pope claims to be the supreme ruler of the universe, to whom all men must bend, or be damned.

The orthodox Romanist view is, that the Italian rustic, who crawls on his belly from one appointment to another in the foreign church, until he is chosen to be Pope, becomes at once the Christ-on-earth, with divine power to dispose of crowns, thrones, governments, laws and peoples.

If the Romanists succeed in their efforts to "make America Catholic"—which, of course, is possible—the United States would then have a majority of its citizens obeying laws made in Rome by the Pope and his various officers: and the American priests who control the American Catholics—being the sworn subjects of the Pope—would be the representatives of a foreign power, enforcing foreign laws upon a majority of American citizens.

In that event, where would be the Independence our Revolutionary forefathers bought with their blood?

If we value this dearly won Independence, why not begin *now* the struggle to preserve it, instead of waiting for the Catholic power to grow so strong that resistance will plunge us into Civil War?

CHAPTER XV.

PART I.

By the time this book shall have come from the presses and gone out into the world, I will be sixty years old. As we enter farther into the evening we look back, more and more, into the Morning, the days when we were young, and when we were bouyed up by the hopes, dreams, enthusiasms of youth. In those by-gone years, we gloried in our strength, believed in our destiny, laughed at obstacles; and when Today was darkened by cloud and rain, we said cheerfully, "the Sun will shine Tomorrow."

We knew that we could not fail: were willing to labor and to wait. The midnight lamp burned in our library, when the household was fast asleep; and the morning found us, refreshed, eager for the march, onward.

What radiant visions lured us toward the future! What noble deeds we would achieve! What fame and influence would be our reward!

Were conditions wrong? We would right them. Were the laws bad? We would make them good. Were the weak oppressed? We would crush the oppressors. Were righteous principles enchained, like captive maidens in the olden castles of Feudal lands and lords? We would put on the bright armor of chivalry, ride forth to the rescue, and smite the dungeon-door with the battle-axe of Lion-heart.

Yes, yes; we had such dreams in the days of boyhood and young manhood, nor are we ashamed of them, now. They were the angels going up our Jacob's ladder; and if they have since come down, they *were* heavenly, nevertheless.

As memories of the past crowd upon me, I see myself again in my office, in the village where I live, when a plain farmer comes in, and asks me to write a call for a mass-meeting, at the Court-house.

There had been a fearful spell of weather. It had rained, and rained, and rained, until crops were almost ruined, and the planters well-nigh desperate.

A Trust had been formed in St. Louis to control the price of jute-bagging, the necessary cover of the cotton bale. Day after day, the price was pushed up, as we have since seen done in so many other cases.

To the farmer, the bagging and ties are an absolute loss, owing to the Liverpool rules in buying; and to double this loss on millions of bales, is a calamity to the whole Cotton Belt.

Heartily in sympathy with the producers, I at once wrote

the call for the mass-meeting; and, on the appointed day, the building was packed with excited humanity.

They had looked to me for the principal speech, and I made it. No address of mine ever aroused a deeper, stronger enthusiasm.

An organized fight on the Jute Trust followed, and I was naturally a prominent figure in it. A movement had been set on foot, in the West, to unite the two agricultural sections for political resistance to the fiscal and financial policies of the manufacturing North and East. The lecturers and organizers commenced work in Georgia, the same year we had our mass-meeting in Thomson.

In a very short while the Farmers' Alliance had been so thoroughly organized that it was able to elect any candidate it agreed to support.

I did not join the order, as General Gordon, and so many other public men did, but fervently endorsed its platform, and became its favorite campaigner. Therefore, when I ran for Congress beginning my campaign in 1889, my race was made on *the principles* of the Farmers' Alliance.

This was universally understood at the time, although the bitterness caused by the divisions which came later seemed to excuse my enemies for not remembering the facts.

My election, in 1890, was a sweeping victory, in every contested county, and this victory was due to the Alliance *principles*.

The platform is given as a part of this chapter, and you will be able to understand how those of us who fought for those reforms, believed ourselves to be advocating primitive Jeffersonian democracy. Just as the Reformation of the 16th century was the effort to get back to original Christianity, so our movement was an attempt to return to the old landmarks of our forefathers.

Before the next Congress convened, the Farmers' Alliance held a great national convention at Indianapolis (1891) and *instructed* those men who had been elected by Alliance votes to stand firm for the principles, regardless of the dictation of party caucus.

Realizing the gravity of this Resolution, I campaigned my District again, and *took a referendum vote*, as to whether I should obey the Resolution. Without one dissenting voice, the people, by a show of hands, instructed me to defy the caucus, and stand firm for the principles.

It saddens me to say, that thousands of men who met me that summer, held up their hands, and cheered me on in the fight, turned their backs on me afterwards, because I had done the very thing they told me to do.

When I went on to Washington, for the first session beginning December, 1891, the Democrats claimed my allegiance to the caucus. My answer was, that the caucus would be controlled by Northern and Eastern members, and that their votes would be against the Alliance principles upon which I had been elected. In other words, my entrance into the caucus would tie my hands, rendering me helpless to work for the reforms demanded in the Ocala Platform.

A similar course was pursued by Senator Robert L. LaFollette, three years ago, and the logic of his position was universally admitted. He shunned the Republican caucus, without losing his standing as a Republican.

But in my case, it was different. A storm of abuse broke over my head, and I was held up to scorn, ridicule, hatred—called a "Traitor", and accused of selling out to the Republicans. On my return to Georgia, three-fourths of the people greeted me with wild demonstrations of approval, and the other fourth with savage outbursts of condemnation. My supporters, mainly, were country folk; my enemies, chiefly, city and town people. I was hooted, hissed, howled down in Augusta and Atlanta; mobbed on the car at Washington, Wilkes County; burned in effigy, hanged in the same way, and elaborately *buried* in the City of Augusta. It is a marvel that my life was not lost in that terrible campaign.

Supposing that they were shooting one of my speakers (Doyle) my enemies shot and killed a Jefferson County farmer, named Hall—kinsman to Clarence Hall who was with William Black when the Knights of Columbus foully murdered him in Marshall, Texas, (1915.) It was at night when poor Hall was shot, and he happened to be wearing a chin-chilla, light-colored overcoat like Doyle's; and in the dark he was mistaken for the other.

It was known who did the killing, but the grandjury refused to indict.

My own home was threatened, and a band formed in town to attack it. The prompt action of my friends, in coming to my defence, was all that saved me.

The country counties voted for me as before; but, in the City of Augusta, votes were *repeated*, by gangs of hired negroes, until there were 18,000 votes in the boxes, when the whole list of voters numbered only 12,000. In this fraudulent way, I was put out of Congress. Three times I renewed the struggle; three times the same methods were used against me; and then I quit—Broken in purse, in energy, in spirit, and almost in mind.

I think I know how General Lee felt, as he rode away from Appomattox.

The Farmers' Alliance in the West was composed of men who had always voted the Republican ticket. Under no circumstances would they enter the Democratic party.

The Alliance in the South was made up of life-long Democrats. Under no circumstances would they vote the Republican ticket.

The Civil War was too recent, and the prejudices growing out of the conflict still rankled. Therefore, it was necessary to find a common ground upon which these men of the different sections and parties could vote together. Out of this necessity, The People's Party was born, in 1891.

Democrat and Republican, Blue and Gray got together, in splendid spirit; and it was not only touching but inspiring to see the old fellows throw their arms about one another in our national conventions. A finer body of men never united for a nobler purpose. They asked no favors, no special privilege. All in God's world they wanted, was Justice, Equity—laws which would not rob them of their produce as fast as they made it.

"Equal rights for all; Special privileges for none"! was the slogan cheered from sea to sea by millions of the men who feed the country in times of peace, and protect it in times of war.

In 1892, our Presidential nominee polled 1,200,000 votes. In the State elections of 1890 we had shown up 1,800,000 strong. We had 1800 weekly papers. We had several U. S. Senators, and thirteen Representatives. The old-line politicians were afraid of us, and shaped their platforms to take the wind out of our sails.

They hit upon the strategic plan of nominating William J. Bryan for President, on a platform which declared for Free Silver, the income tax, and against national banks. Mr. Bryan was considered as a Populist in Nebraska; and our people in the West felt that he was one of us. Therefore, when the Democrats in 1896 nominated him for President, our Western friends were enthusiastically in favor of taking him for our nominee, also. The Bryan leaders went to our national convention at St. Louis, and proposed a *fusion* of all reform forces. If the Populists would accept Bryan, for first place on the ticket, the Democrats would accept a Populist for the second place.

Thus it happened that the Peoples' Party convention nominated me for Vice-President, *before* it nominated Bryan for President. The convention unfortunately chose Marion Butler, for the Chairman of our Committee; and the campaign had hardly commenced before I recognized the evidences of his sell-out to the Democrats.

Betrayed by Butler, I was powerless to insist on compliance with the contract made at St. Louis. Instead of a fusion, which meant co-operation for a common purpose, I saw that Butler, Bryan, Allen, Jones etc., meant a fusion which swallowed and digested the Peoples Party.

After this, my part in the campaign was, to help Bryan to the utmost of my power, without recognition from him, and without hope for myself. The humiliation to me, and to my "mid-road" friends, you can readily understand.

Bryan went down in defeat, never again to come so near the Presidency; and the Peoples Party fell, never to rise again. What life was left in us by fusion, was knocked out of us by the Spanish War. (1898.) In vain, we attempted to "start over," in 1900, 1904, and 1908; it could not be done. The water had passed the wheel, and gone.

In writing of all this, I feel as Grattan may have felt in speaking of Ireland's brief independence in the 18th century: "I sat by her cradle; I stood at her grave."

Having been the only Southern Congressman who obeyed instructions, and remained out of the Democratic caucus, the Western men looked to me as the leader, for when Bryan tricked them at St. Louis, most of the former Populist leaders followed him. Not one of the twelve Western Representatives, with whom I had worked in Congress, and who had there chosen me for leader, gave me either aid or comfort in 1896. They stood afar off, and *aloof*. Yet they gained nothing by it, for the last one of them soon dropped from public life.

Of all the leaders of the Nineties, I am one of the few left. Gone are the old familiar faces that used to be seen at all the great gatherings. Many of them fell by the way when the days were darkest, and it was hardest to be true to our cause. They did not live to see their principles vindicated, and many of their demands codified in the books where laws are written.

The income tax, the election of Senators by the people, the election of judges, the abolition of saloons, free books in the free schools, and the progress of the idea of Government loans to the farmers—all these were radical demands when first made by Greenbackers, Farmers' Alliance and Peoples Party. So wild were these demands considered, that torrents of abuse, ridicule, and downright calumny poored over us, because of them.

Forgive me, if I have lingered too long in this sketch of The People's Party: it was to me almost as a beloved child, for whose life and growth I had labored much, sacrificed much, and suffered much—and after all it died, leaving me grieved beyond consolation.

PART II.

In order that you may learn the reasons for the existence of The Peoples' Party, I will present a few extracts from published letters and speeches of my own, during those stormy campaigns. As I was the recognized leader of the party and bore the brunt of slanderous vituperation, my statements, made publicly at the time, may be regarded as representative, if not official.

To an understanding of the speeches, it is necessary for you to know that a large faction of the Populists, perhaps three-fourths of the rank-and-file had opposed Fusion, and insisted upon a straight Populist ticket, "in the middle of the road."

The Democrats had nominated a man named Sewall for Vice-President. He lived somewhere in Maine, was a national banker, favored gold contracts, and was almost exactly the opposite of Bryan, in principle, conceding that Bryan held those he professed. Sewall's son was a Republican, and was at the time delivering Republican speeches. As it turned out, Sewall did not carry his State, his town, or the precinct in which he lived. He was rich and it was thought he would contribute royally to Bryan's campaign fund; but if he did, the secret was as well kept as the money.

The Populist leaders who favored fusion had told their Mid-road colleagues at St. Louis, that Sewall would be retired, and that the ticket of both Democrats and Populists would be, "Bryan and Watson."

Almost to the last weeks of the campaign, that pretense was kept up. Bryan lost, because he did not keep faith as the following will show:

BRYAN MIGHT EASILY HAVE WON.

"An examination of the figures of last Tuesday's vote results in some very curious and interesting revelations. It will be remembered that *The Post*, from the very first, insisted that Bryan's chances were good, that at any stage of the campaign his election was a possibility, and that McKinley's election, although we regarded it as highly probable, depended after all upon a very narrow and uncertain margin. As unanswerable proof that we were right in this, we now call attention to the following table, showing how a change of a little more than 25,000 votes, distributed over nine States, would have elected Bryan, notwithstanding his big majorities elsewhere:

States.	Electoral votes.	Majorities.
California	9	5,000
Delaware	3	2,500
Indiana	15	22,000
Kentucky	13	500
North Dakota	3	5,000
Oregon	4	3,000
South Dakota	4	300
West Virginia	6	12,000
Wyoming	3	200
Total electoral votes, 60.		
Total McKinley majorities, 50,500.		

Now, suppose there had been these changes from McKinley to Bryan in the different States respectively:

California	2,510
Delaware	1,255
Indiana	11,100
Kentucky	251
North Dakota	2,510
Oregon	1,505
South Dakota	151
West Virginia	6,010
Wyoming	101
Total	25,393

"These changes would have given every one of the nine States to Bryan, and, adding their 60 votes to the 167 he got elsewhere, would have made his strength in the electoral college 227—three more than he needed to make him president.

"It is a serious reflection that the changing of only 25,393 votes—as a matter of fact the change of 25,026 votes would have accomplished the result—is all that stood between the election of McKinley and the election of Bryan. We commend this reflection to the gentlemen who are throwing up their hats and screaming themselves black in the face with nonsense about landslides and similar absurdities. Mr. McKinley got tremendous majorities in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Michigan and Illinois, but in the rest of the country, he has a mighty narrow escape from defeat."

The above is from the *Washington Post*, and I simply remark upon it that, had the Democratic campaign been so managed as to enlist the full Populist support, Bryan would have carried each of the States named.

Take Indiana, for instance. A change of 11,000 votes would have given it to Bryan.

The Peoples party has at least 28,000 votes in Indiana; and Bryan could have got them had the Populists been treated right. But with true Bourbon bullheadness the Democrats tried to bulldoze the middle-of-the-roaders, instead of conciliating them, and the result was a smash-up—in which Bryan lost the State.

Again, take Kentucky. A change of 251 votes would have given it to Bryan. The Populist vote in Kentucky in 1892 was 23,500. Had our full vote been enlisted for Bryan, he would most certainly have carried the state, but the Indiana tactics prevailed in Kentucky also, and McKinley won because of the stupidity of Democratic leaders in not realizing that the Populist voters could not be delivered, like cattle, to those who had bargained for them on fusion deals.

The more the reader studies the table of figures taken from the *Washington Post*, the more clearly it will be seen that the Democrats lost the case because they violated the St. Louis compact.

Contracts, whether express or implied, are as binding in politics as in business, and no party can violate them with impunity.

In trying to force our men to make a complete surrender, and to take both Bryan and Sewell, the Democrats simply put one straw too much on the patient camel's back.

Had the Democratic leaders furnished ever so small a share of the patriotism, and ever so small a portion of the "rising above party," Bryan would have been elected.

But they thought they could swallow us in the West, and crush us in the South, and they sacrificed Bryan in the effort to destroy Populism.

(They destroyed Populism as an organization.)

WHY A PEOPLES PARTY?

A PROTEST AGAINST EXISTING EVILS.

ANTAGONISM TO CLASS LEGISLATION—THE TEXT IS "EQUAL AND EXACT JUSTICE TO ALL MEN."

In its last analysis Populism is a protest against existing evils and an organized effort to restore the governmental system of our fathers.

The enemies of reform accuse us of radicalism, indict us as disturbers of the public peace and, as foes to the best interests of society, attempt to set the conservative elements of the country against us.

This is nothing new; the enemies of reform have always tried to overwhelm with ridicule and abuse those whose attacks upon social, political and ecclesiastical evils could not otherwise be met. In every society there are those who seek to fatten upon special privileges; speak against those special privileges and you incur the bitter hatred of the classes who enjoy them.

Those who dared to say that the public lands of Rome should be restored to the public were butchered by the privileged few who had illegally seized upon those lands.

When Turgot, in France, and, after him, Calonne, proposed to avert national bankruptcy and revolution by laying a tax upon the colossal properties of the church and the nobility they were howled out of office by the blind selfishness of the privileged classes, who drifted madly into bloody revolution rather than concede the just demands for reforms.

When the Chartist, in England, demanded annual parliaments, manhood suffrage, secret ballot, the laying off of regular parliamentary districts and the payment of stated salaries to the members a storm of indignation, backed by the fixed bayonet of the British soldier, drove the Chartists into the outer darkness of political humiliation and defeat, and another generation had to be born and educated before the reasonable demands of the Chartists became (with one exception) the law of Great Britain.

So the Populists, asking nothing which shrinks from the test of full and fair discussion, have been pitilessly assailed as a lot of cranks, fanatics and hoodlums, whose alleged principles were unworthy of serious consideration.

As all new movements do, we have gathered unto ourselves every element of dissatisfaction which the country contained. It would be folly to deny that we have suffered in public esteem on account of the questionable motives and doubtful characters of many who assumed to speak for us. But to all fair-minded men, I submit the proposition, that we as a party should no more be held responsible for the vagaries of individuals than the Democratic party should be held responsible for the Tammany thug who apes Boss McKane, or the Republican party be bound by the moral code of a ward boss who follows some Chris Magee.

Let each party be judged by its creed as set forth in its national platform and by the speech and act of the accredited representative.

Upon that basis Populism stands ready to give the reasons for the faith which inspires it and will endeavor to hold the lists against all who come.

The very essence of Populism is antagonism to class legis-

lation and to special privilege. Its constant text is "Equal and exact justice to all men"; its constant purpose to check the tendency which concentrates all political power and all material prosperity into the hands of the few.

We arraign the existing system and we say that the worst features of the European system, which our forefathers came here to escape, are creeping into our government and finding secure footing in our statute-book.

Our president violates the law at his pleasure, and ignores it at his will—a king could do no more. Our corporations have become a privileged order, armed with the power to tax the unprivileged, and thus we have an aristocracy. Our wealth has been exempt from taxation, made secure from the ordinary chances of competition by laws which tend to make the rich richer; and thus, by legalizing the advantages of the millionaire, we make certain that the numbers of those who must remain penniless shall ever increase. Wealth, after all, is but a common fund from which all must derive existence. If a few have seized upon more than they are legally and equitably entitled to, the many will get less than they need and less than they legally and equitably deserve.

Populism would remedy the disease by removing its cause. We trace every evil of our present situation to some departure from the true principles upon which our fathers founded the government. Figs are not gathered from thistles, nor are happy results to be obtained from unjust laws. If ever this republic is to be again blessed with general prosperity it must go back to the system which once made us prosperous; and to do that the creed of Populism must find its place upon the statute-book.

(Letter of mine published in the Nineties.)

MR. WATSON'S SPEECH.

ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION OF THE POPULISTS FOR THE FIFTY FOURTH CONGRESS.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

With the tenth district and with the State of Georgia this day is historic. It marks a distinct epoch in the politics of the South.

You are here because the aroused conscience of the public, weary at length of the unlimited frauds by which Democratic victories have been won, has wrenched from the hands of my distinguished opponent a commission he felt that he could not honorably hold.

Without violence and without crime you have achieved a moral victory which ennobles you and your party.

You have so patiently, persistently and earnestly appealed to the better feelings of the honest democrats that the time has passed when crime could boast of its guilt.

Everywhere it is profoundly realized that you cannot trample upon one law without weakening all; that you cannot destroy honesty in elections without placing a premium upon rascality which will encourage it to invade other branches of the public administration. Honest citizens everywhere began to feel that corrupt elections would lead to corrupt verdicts, corrupt judgments, corrupt laws.

Our civilization is an elaborate work—the result of lofty efforts. It has been laboriously built up in spite of barbarism, in spite of the baser elements of society and as a triumph over what is base in the builders themselves.

This temple rests upon certain foundations without whose firm support the whole fabric falls. And in the civilization of the republic there can be no dispute that a part of the foundation is the purity of elections.

Controlled by the public sentiment which had at last become shocked and indignant at the open violation of the law by which my opponent prevailed over me, he now confesses, by his resignation, that a grievous wrong has been done us, and that the time has come for the honest elements of both parties to put the rascals under foot.

I congratulate you upon this happy result, for it marks a revolution in the South.

The time has been when any crime committed in the name of the Democratic party was an act of patriotism in the eyes of a majority of the people.

As long as selfish and dishonest leaders could make the South believe that Democracy, as they practiced it, was identical with the integrity of southern life—social, political and commercial—it was utterly impossible to awaken the public conscience to a sense of the dangers of ballots suppressed, majorities manufactured to order, election returns cooked to suit the taste of the wire puller, and the laws of the land bent into supple instruments of political intrigue.

The time has been when every man in this house would have gloried in the commission of a political crime which served the purpose of the Democratic party—a party dear to all of us as the trusted guardian of our liberties, the special champion of our section, the chosen defender of our homes and firesides. Not a man here who has not loved the Democratic party, loved its traditions, loved its great achievements, loved its heroic leaders, loved it for the enemies it made in

the grand days when it fought the battles of the common people against class rule and special privileges.

Not a man who has not worked for the Democratic party, who has not suffered for it, who has not blindly trusted it until human faith could stand no more.

Here today in the midst of the brave men who have been by my side in all the darkness and the danger of the last three years, I do assert most positively that we did not want to leave the Democratic party. We did not want to go.

We left the house of our fathers with heavy hearts.

We parted with old friends sadly, reluctantly.

But we just couldn't stay. In the temple of Jefferson and Jackson strange gods had been set up and we just couldn't bow to them. We were not strong enough to put the other fellows out, and we were too strong to submit—so we shouldered ourselves and walked.

We founded a new party, that the creed of our fathers might not want for shelter, a home, a shrine.

We could not bear to see the principles upon which the government was founded smothered beneath the Eastern influence which then controlled, and still controls both the old parties.

We could not bear to see our "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" perish away from off the earth without a protest and struggle.

So we formed a new party, consecrated to the good old creed, and located within the old landmarks.

We founded a new party because we believed that the new wine of reform would fare badly in the old bottles of political corruption.

Because a new party was necessary before the negro of the South would ever cordially co-operate with the white man of the South.

Because a new party was necessary before the white farmer of the West, he being a Republican, could ever co-operate with the white farmer of the South, he being a Democrat.

Because a new party was absolutely necessary to secure a political platform which would be a simple, honest and positive declaration of principles, and not a mere cowardly, contemptible and deceitful juggle of words which mean one thing at the North and another in the South, one thing to the Wall Street interest and another to the agricultural interest, one thing before election, and quite another when the season arrives for salary grabbing and duck hunting.

Were we wise in forming a new party?

If the Democrats had not gained so complete a victory in

1892 that question might have continued for many years the subject of angry debate.

But if ever there was a crowd that suffered from getting too much of a good thing it was the Democrats who captured the Presidency, the Senate, the House, and thus secured absolute control accompanied with indisputable responsibility.

Not enough of the Republican party had been left to hang an excuse on.

The People's party was not big enough to hold in front as a screen.

Democrats after a generation of lies, evasions, shufflings and denials, had to face the music and tote the whole responsibility for everything done and not done.

And in all the history of party politics there has never been so complete a smashup.

Never since the "Wonderful One Hoss Shay" went to pieces in one comprehensive, simultaneous and complete smashup—an epic of utter annihilation—has there been such an all-round catastrophe as that which has happened to the democratic party.

It not only managed to do nothing it was pledged to do, but it also contrived to do everything its leaders had fought the Republicans for doing.

Steering by the hated "Reed rules," the Democratic speaker, Mr. Crisp, managed to sail the dear old Democratic ship into every port where the Republican vessel had ever touched.

The free silverism of the Democratic party closed the mints as a "preparation" for free coinage. The closed doors remain closed. The preparation for free coinage is a joke which has little fun in it to the man who sold cotton at five cents, or wheat at forty.

The "economy" of the Democrats emptied the treasury, burdened us with bonds for borrowed money, increased our taxes and sold us into vassalage to Rothschild.

Their tariff reform is a crazy quilt, whose shreds and patches were sold to the highest bidder, and which so reeked with the "communism of self" that even Grover Cleveland was ashamed to sign the bill.

Their pledges to increase the currency materialized in a contraction of more than \$100,000,000 in one year.

Their stern warnings to the greed of corporate wealth bore fruit in giving three cabinet positions to corporation lawyers, and to such a complete surrender to the railroad kings that the United States army and a United States mail sack are kept ready at all times to aid the corporations in quelling strikes.

Their bimetalism never rested, never wavered until it had established the single gold standard—destroying one-half of our money and our values—and thus adding to the value of the dollar, to the exaction of the debt, to the burden of the tax.

Merchants fail because the customer can no longer buy; farmers fail because 5-cent cotton cannot pay tax, expense and debt. Laborers suffer because on a falling market no man can assume new risks.

And the market falls because the quantity of money, money of final payment, has decreased, and still decreases.

Ruin stares this republic in the face, and the Democratic party, aided and abetted by the Republicans, is to blame.

To cure the ills of contraction, the Democrats have contracted.

To undo the crime of 1873 they have repeated it.

To restore public credit, they have given more debts to pay.

To "relieve the people" they have added to your taxes.

To emphasize their love of "reform" they have added to the national expenditure at a time when the jails are so much more desirable than thousands of homes that heretofore honest men are committing petty crimes to secure the refuge which the law provides for the criminal. Such is the record, the recent record of the Democratic party.

Hence the halo has gone from it forever. The most devoted Democrats cannot longer refuse to see what their party has done, and cannot refuse to read the hidden results in the almost universal bankruptcy of our people.

It won't do to say Cleveland did it all. That is not the truth. Cleveland is bad enough, God knows! He has sold himself for money. He has fattened in her misery. He has made merchandise of her distress. But the cabinet was also Democratic, and it dwelt within Cleveland's shadow without a murmur.

The senate was Democratic, and it has not dared to question the schemes of the president.

The house was Democratic—and it was as servile as any tyrant could have wished.

A party acts through its chosen representatives, and in this instance, all the representatives of Democracy from president to senate, from senate to house, and from congress clean on down to village postmaster, Cleveland's ruinous policy has met no resistance.

What has been done has been done by the party, and the party is responsible.

Such being the tree, what shall be done with it?

"Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?"

The Democratic party of today is a mere piece of cunning machinery with which the East rules and loots the South and West.

Friends take your own choice, but as for me, as long as I have breath, I shall fight the battles of the South as against the deadly domination of the East.

I cannot bear to see my people forever victimized by the money power which Hamilton fortified in the class laws which now throttles us.

I cannot bear to see the South stripped of all her glory without the wish to offer her all the strength of my arm, all the zeal of my heart.

Patriotism, in its last analysis, is love of home, of wife and child, kith and kin, friend and neighbor.

The Southern leader who blindly or wilfully enslaves the South—the land of home and kindred—is a man whom I cannot understand—or respect.

The South is being sacrificed to the East, and Southern leaders have been holding the victim to the altar.

Can we not end the fearful condition?

Cannot we Georgians unite for Georgia; we Southern men for the South?

Let us get together. As Southern men, let us think of the South, work for the South, live for the South.

Let us get off our knees and be men.

Shall we forever truckle to the East?

Shall we never be ashamed of its dictation?

In the name of the manly courage which once made Southern heroism a synonym of daring, I challenge you to a performance of your duty.

No law yet sanctions the infamies of Clevelandism.

No statute supports the bold usurpation by which he has decreed that "coin" means gold only.

No legal foundation upholds the single gold standard.

Bad as the repeal of the Sherman law was, shameful as the inaction of Congress on the Bond question was, the destruction of the bimetallic standard and the establishment of the single gold standard was a mere act of Cleveland's will.

He knew that Congress was too cowardly and too corrupt to interfere—and he usurped an authority which did not belong to him by law.

It is not too late to restore bimetallism.

But act promptly. He who dallies now is twice a dastard, he who doubts, is trebly damned.

We cannot afford to trust a party which does not know its own mind; which is rent into factions; which is con-

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